

Berlin: Dream and Awakening. A Collection of Images of the German Capital after Reunification

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“The end of the common world has come when it is seen only under one aspect and is permitted to present itself in only one perspective.”

– Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*.

“Behind the ‘monotheism’ of the dominant panoptical procedures we might suspect the existence and survival of a ‘polytheism’ of concealed or disseminated practices, marginalized but not obliterated by the historical triumph of one of their number.”

– Michel De Certeau, *On the Oppositional Practices of Everyday Life*.

ABSTRACT

Since German Reunification the city of Berlin has been the object of a carefully designed campaign to reinvent its identity and to promote its image. The propagated city image does not always include the wide variety of social and urban expressions, and frequently compels an elitist vision of the city that, far from alleviating emerging social tensions, reinforces them. This research offers a comparative analysis of the city image produced by the local government, and the imagery produced by other actors involved in urban processes. To this end, a collection of images representing the city of Berlin was integrated, with materials produced by three main sectors: the local government, the tourism industry and a variety of social movements. The collected images are described and analyzed with the aim of knowing the assumptions they comprise, and are afterwards compared against each other to find similarities and differences between the city visions of their producers. Topics like historical memory, urban change, commercialization, public participation, subcultural expressions and multiculturalism arose from this comparison.

In addition, the dissertation proposes a visual approach for the analysis of issues linked to urbanism and the construction of city image. Such approach is inspired in the idea of “dialectical image”, described by Walter Benjamin in his unfinished ‘Arcades Project’, and consists in putting together a set of chosen pictures in small groups or “constellations” that make evident their similarities and differences.

The research shows that the image prompted by the local government and by the tourist industry are alike, while there are significant divergences between the official image and the representations of citizens. These divergences seem to reflect a deep dissatisfaction of some sectors of the population with the official city model, based on assumptions of a post-industrial economy.

Key words: City Image
Be Berlin

Urban Movements
Dialectical Images

City Branding
New Berlin

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Seit der deutschen Wiedervereinigung steht die Stadt Berlin im Fokus einer Kampagne, die die Identität von Berlin neu definiert und die allgemeine Darstellung der Stadt positiv zu beeinflussen versucht. Das weit verbreitete Stadtbild beinhaltet jedoch nicht immer die Vielfältigkeit von sozialen und urbanen Akteuren. Oftmals wird Berlin als eine elitäre Stadt dargestellt, soziale Spannungen werden nicht betrachtet und können sich durch die einseitige Darstellung sogar verstärken. Diese Arbeit vergleicht die verschiedenen Darstellungen der Stadt, die von lokalen politischen Akteuren, der Tourismusbranche und von sozialen Bürgerbewegungen propagiert werden. Sie werden in der Arbeit ausgiebig erläutert und bewertet. Ein abschließender Vergleich legt die unterschiedlichen Darstellungen und Gemeinsamkeiten der verschiedenen Akteure dar. Neben der historischen Analyse mit Einbezug des Wandels der Stadt, werden Aspekte und Themen wie Kommerzialisierung, Bürgerbeteiligung, Multikulturalismus und Subkulturen behandelt.

Darüber hinaus werden im Rahmen dieser Arbeit Fragen und Probleme des Urbanismus und der Gestaltung des Stadtbildes durch einen bildlichen Ansatz mit Einbezug der verschiedenen Konstellationen analysiert. Der Ansatz beruht auf der Idee des "dialektischen Bildes" von Walter Benjamin aus seinem 'Passagen-Werk'.

Die Auswertung ergibt, dass die öffentliche Darstellung der Stadt von lokalen politischen Akteuren und der Tourismusbranche viele Gemeinsamkeiten aufweisen, während die Darstellung der Bewohner deutlich davon abweicht. Dieser Kontrast spiegelt eine große Unzufriedenheit von Teilen der Bevölkerung mit der offiziellen Darstellung der Stadt, welche sich auf einen post-industriellen, ökonomischen Ansatz stützt.

Keywords: Stadtbild Bürgerbewegungen City Branding
Be Berlin Dialektisches Bild New Berlin

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INTRODUCTION

In a world dominated by images, pictures depicting emblematic places of a city have a great impact in the creation of symbols and identity; therefore local governments give a great importance to the task of creating and spreading a convenient image of their cities. Twenty-five years after German reunification, the cityscape of Berlin has been intensively renovated. The decade of the 1990's was a time of frantic construction and urban planning, with the cityscape of the former divided city dominated by cranes. The eyes of the world were focused on the German capital and the wide range of possibilities that suddenly opened with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Plenty of buildings and urban projects were planned, pointing towards the reinvention of a new identity for the so called "New Berlin". In this process, architecture played a key role, and many buildings were erected as symbols of renovation. Photographed, reproduced, and distributed all around the world, such portraits were part of a media strategy oriented to place Berlin at the level of other great capital cities. The new elements added to the cityscape, covered it with a new layer of meaning oscillating between historical memory and visions of the future.

In this work I propose the analysis of the city image of post-Reunification Berlin as a starting point to discuss significant issues related to architecture and urbanism such as political symbolism, the configuration of public space, the variety of forces that take part in the process of shaping the cityscape, and its influence in the construction of historical memory and identity. This analysis seems relevant when we observe the one-dimensional vision that the local government has often embraced, which entails a dubious treatment of history and

diversity. This narrow perspective brought me to observe the way that this process of reconstruction is lived, perceived and received by different actors.

On one hand, there is the global metropolis portrayed in postcards, brochures, and books promoted by the local government and by the travel industry, highlighting brand-new buildings of global corporations, commending the reconstruction of former neglected spaces, depicting ambitious urban projects like *Mediaspree* or the new Berlin-Brandenburg Airport (BBI), and celebrating middle- and upper-class lifestyles and consumption patterns. On the other hand, there are a variety of alternative projects and spatial practices performed by Berliners, which openly challenge the mainstream city-image. The variety of experimental spaces developed in vacant plots occupied for interim uses, the alternative proposals for the *Spree* waterfront and the former *Tempelhof* airport, the numerous social movements against gentrification, and subcultural practices like graffiti and squatting, are only a few examples of such alternative expressions. The expansion of the first image has often meant a menace to the alternative practices of some groups, nevertheless both aspects appeared altogether in the official image as a way of communicating the idea of a vibrant and modern city with a singular cultural tradition and identity on its own.

This paradox leads to a variety of questions, which are the core of this research: What kind of imagery is chosen and represented by the government by means of the architecture photographed and publicized after reunification? What is the function of these images? Which are the political intentions underlying their production? What kind of imagery is embedded in the images addressed to the visitors? Does this imagery correspond to the complexity of the urban phenomena? What are the differences between the city-image produced by the

local government and the city that inhabitants experience in their everyday life? What is the nature of the tensions between them? Are citizens only passive spectators in the conformation of the current image of the city or do they play an active role? And, if so, what is the nature of that role? These questions are the starting point of my research.

Drawing from the starting questions I structured my research in three major sections that address the way the city is represented by three distinctive actors involved in the urban phenomena: the local government, the tourism industry, and a group of selected urban movements. The first chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the imagery produced by the local government in one of its advertising campaigns. The political intentions behind such imagery is the central topic of this section. In the second chapter, I examine images created by the tourism industry with the aim of knowing the imagery about the city disseminated among visitors. In the third chapter, I analyze several examples of representations of the city produced by contesting movements, which promote alternative uses of space and practices of resistance. The aim of this section is to know the process of appropriation and reinterpretation of space performed by citizens.

Additionally, I added a fourth chapter, where I compare some of the images analyzed in the first three chapters, by means of small groups or ‘constellations’, following the Benjaminian ideas of montage, and comprising the idea that such arrangements can help to visualize the ideas, social expectations and political context, which the images respond to.¹ In his unfinished ‘Arcades Project’, Walter

¹ See: Walter Benjamin and Rolf Tiedemann, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1999); Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989); Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

Benjamin proposed the integration of constellations, by juxtaposing heterogeneous elements of the quotidian realm, with the aim of making the hidden connections between divergent elements visible, and thus, revealing the contradictory character of reality. The series of similarities and divergences that emerged from the comparison of images were used as starting point for a more general analysis of the urban phenomena of contemporary Berlin. The constellations exemplify a suggested methodological approach for the analysis of urban phenomena, drawing from visual materials. Furthermore, the notions of “dream” and “awakening” in the title of this work, suggest an interpretation of the mainstream images of the city as part of a ‘dreamlike state’; while its counterparts, produced by other actors, open the possibility of recognizing the myths around the new identity of the city. I elaborate on this point in chapter four.

The thematic structure of the research follows the description of spatial practices developed by Henry Lefebvre on his book *The Production of Space* (1991). Lefebvre describes a three-fold division in the production of space that comprises: *conceived space*, *perceived space* and *lived space*. The first concept refers to the representations that dominant groups produce to define space; and specifically the abstract space designed by planners, architects, and decision makers. The second concept designates the material place unfolded from the first, while the lived space refers to the space experienced and appropriated by its users on an everyday basis.² My analysis oscillates between the first and the third concepts, being examples of discourses on space the first two chapters of this work. The third chapter is linked to the concept of lived space, it means, the spatial representations that ordinary people make while living their lives, and the

² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 33, 38-39.

space where counter discourses and social movements flourish. Given that a description of the physical space of a city like Berlin, which has been extensively reconstructed during the last two decades, would demand a considerable extension, I did not elaborate on the topic of perceived space in my research.

Additionally, I refer to the notions of *tactic* and *strategy*, analyzed by Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Every Day Life*, to address those citizen's practices that open alternative urban spaces not subjugated to the mainstream. The difference between users and consumers highlighted by Certeau is an important notion to think about the reception of urban plans and projects. The notion of *terrain vague*, taken from Ignasi de Solà, was also considered to describe those urban spaces that escape to the logic of the prevailing capitalism as alternative scopes of freedom.

The analysis of the images follows the perspective of political iconography, being the political discursive function of images the main aim of the investigation. Under this perspective, the research is also oriented to describe the political intentionality and function of architecture in the city image of Berlin. At the same time, by the nature of the selected materials, this work is inscribed in the tradition of *Bildwissenschaft*, which considers "image-making in all its forms" and not just artworks.³

The production of the images presented in this work is framed by the implementation of a neoliberal model of city governance in Berlin. Despite its social democratic tradition, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), which has ruled

³ Aby Warburg, "Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther," in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*, 597–698, Texts & Documents (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999), 598. Quoted in: Marion G. Müller, "What is Visual Communication? Past and Future of an Emerging Field of Communication Research," *Studies in Communication Sciences* 7, no. 2 (2007): 15.

the city since 2001, has embraced market oriented economic policies since the late 1990's. It made cuts to welfare spending, reduced corporate tax rates, abolished capital gains and wealth taxes, and reduced the pension rate. Such policies were adopted by the SPD after taking power of the federal government in coalition with the German Greens (1998), and continued after the 2002 election.⁴

The implementation of neoliberal policies in cities follows a global tendency of great mobility of financial capital and increase of international trade. According to David Harvey, in the context of neoliberal economy the competition between cities for attracting investment capital increases, transforming traditional forms of governance into public-private partnerships, while involving a conduction of city business "behind closed doors" with limited democratic and representational content. For this model, the main role of government is to create a good business climate rather than look to the needs and well-being of the population at large. This way, local governments are more and more construed as entrepreneurial rather than social democratic or even managerial entities.⁵ As Fellow SPD parliamentarian Dietmar Nietan has put it: Globalization promotes a kind of 'beauty contest', in which nations compete to create the best conditions for foreign investment in new enterprises.⁶ In this context, one of the main aims in the agenda of the SPD has been making of Germany (and also of Berlin) a successful and strong business location.⁷

⁴ Ashley Lavelle, "Social Democracy or Neo-liberalism? The Cases of Germany and Sweden," in *Globalising Government Business Relations*, ed. Giorel Curran and Elizabeth van Acker (Frenchs Forest, N.S.W.: Pearson Education Australia, 2007), 4.

⁵ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 47–48.

⁶ Lavelle, "Social Democracy", 7.

⁷ Ibid., 7–10.

Against this background, the traditional social-democratic orientation of German housing policy was swiftly abandoned, and urban policies do not longer focus on “wide circles of the population”, but “instead promote the better off”. Strong legal and administrative controls have been also abandoned and investment is determined to a greater extent by market mechanisms and profit-oriented owners than in earlier phases. The new neoliberal urban model follows economic imperatives and privileges market mechanisms over public renewal models.⁸

This set of changes has led some scholars to speak of a ‘neoliberal turn’ in urban politics, characterized by a gradual retreat of the state from financing urban redevelopment and a stronger involvement of private investors.⁹ In the following pages I examine a variety of visual answers to the series of economic processes described above; from the attempts of local government to gain legitimacy for its project by means of city advertising, to the rejection of some of these measures in the materials produced by some social movements.

The time frame of the research was defined in consistency with the availability of the visual materials to be analyzed. The main temporal axis was determined by the advertising campaign, created in 2008 and still current to this date, together with the visual materials produced by urban movements during the time the campaign was active. Another element was the time frame when the collection of the materials was done (2010-2011). This way, the analyzed images were published and in circulation in Berlin between 2008 and 2013 approximately.

⁸ Andrej Holm, “Urban Renewal and the End of Social Housing: The Roll-Out of Neoliberalism in East Berlin’s Prenzlauer Berg,” *Social Justice* 33, no. 3 (2006): 124.

⁹ Holm, “Urban Renewal”; Hartmut Häussermann and Andreas Kapphau, *Berlin: von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt? Sozialräumlicher Wandel seit 1990* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2000); Neil Brenner, “Berlin’s Transformations: Postmodern, Postfordist... or Neoliberal?,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26, no. 3 (2002).

Nevertheless, the supporting scholar articles address issues that are more hardly limited to a time frame, but can be generally referred as related to the time of the first decades of 2000's.

The literature about the process of urban reconstruction in Berlin includes a wide range of journal articles and specialized books. The intense polemic around urban and architectural issues has been widely documented in the media, as much as in several publications produced in academic circles. With regards to the specific topics analyzed in the three chapters of this work, several scholars have analyzed separately some of the topics discussed here: city marketing and image production in Berlin has been analyzed by Hartmut Häussermann and Claire Colomb (Häussermann & Colomb, 2003; Colomb, 2011), and C. Colomb and Ares Kalandides (2010). Central issues related to the urban phenomena in the city like Gentrification, the boom of the creative class (Bernt & Holm, 2009; Bader & Bialluch, 2009; Holm 2010), and the outburst of urban tourism and its consequences (Novy & Huning, 2009; Novy, 2010, 2013) have been also widely discussed. The flourishing of urban social movements (Novy & Colomb, 2013), and the specific examples of Mediaspree (Bader & Sharenberg 2009, 2010; Dohnke, 2013), community gardens (Rosol, 2010), and the *RAW Temple* (Rostalski, 2010) have attracted the attention of scholars too. Nevertheless, most of these pieces of research focus in the description and analysis of phenomena from a theoretical point of view. My investigation, in contrast, focuses in visual material rather than sociological or urban discussions.

The analysis of the way that different actors involved in the urban phenomena represent the city provides a good panorama of some of the issues that the city has faced after its reunification, its contradictions and inequalities, as

much as the controversies emerging from the interaction of different actors with divergent agendas. But it also reveals the affinities and possible points of coincidence to elaborate an inclusive and plural project for the city.

The examples analyzed in this work were limited to a number of cases and points of view. Neither does it include the totality of dimensions that the official campaign has taken, nor the total spectrum of actors. It would be interesting to include visual representations produced by other actors, like non-oppositional groups, artists or the media in future works. Furthermore, a more profound analysis of the reception and impact of mainstream images would be commendable.

Last but not least, it is capital to mention that I am all gratitude to the *Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst* (DAAD) for their generous support during these four years of research.

1. The Conceived City: The City of Berlin in the ‘Be Berlin’ campaign

In 2008 the local government of Berlin launched a flashy advertising campaign under the slogan ‘Be Berlin’, oriented to promote the image of the city among Berliners, potential residents, tourists and investors. In this chapter I describe and analyze a set of images taken from the main brochure of this campaign with the purpose of knowing the imagery for the city created by the local government, and with it, the project of city embedded in these images. The selected photographs focus in architecture thus one of my aims is to understand the function that photographed architecture plays in the international promotion of the city. The imagery described in this chapter will be compared to other representations of the city produced by inhabitants and the tourism industry in further chapters, in order to observe the contradictions and tensions that emerged from the different visions of actors involved in the urban phenomena. The political meaning that the city government has given to the image of specific places depicted in advertising will be the main issue to be addressed.

The intention is to understand the city project behind the pictures, in order to know the kind of city that the local government intends to develop and promote. For this purpose I have selected the general brochure of the campaign called *The Place to Be*, in its first edition (2008). This will be compared briefly, especially when the changes are deemed suggestive, with the later versions of 2011 and 2012.

1.1. Context of the Production of the Campaign

The production of the campaign *Be Berlin* is framed inside a variety of economic conditions known under the generic names of globalization and deindustrialization. The quick development of information technologies and the decrease in transportation costs have led to a constant flow of people, capital, and goods which, in turn, resulted in an intense competition between cities struggling to attract capitals, qualified workers and a wider tax base. At the same time, several former industrial centers entered in a phase of decline, a situation that many local governments have tried to manage reformulating its economic strategies and reinventing themselves as service centers, while their economies depend on tourism and consumption, rather than on the production of goods. With this new economic panorama many cities have chosen to finance advertising campaigns with the purpose of creating or improving their city image since the 1980s.¹⁰

Many of these city campaigns have targeted their efforts to a specific sector of population integrated by high qualified professionals with a high purchasing power, a group named the *creative class* by American theorist Richard Florida. On his book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida asserts that cities would benefit economically by attracting 'creative' people, like scientists, engineers, university professors, artists, writers, entertainers, actors, designers, architects, and all kind of young professionals working in creative fields, like

¹⁰ These economical processes are extensively described in: Saskia Sassen, "The Global City," in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, ed. David Nugent and Joan Vincent, Blackwell Companions to Anthropology 2 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2007), 168–78; Saskia Sassen, "The Global City: Introducing a Concept," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* XI, no. 2 (2005); David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (1989); David Harvey, "Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization: Reflections on Post-Modernism in the American City," *Antipode* 19, no. 3 (1987).

fashion and technology.¹¹ Both major companies and local governments are willing to attract these young professionals as highly qualified labor force and potential tax-payers. Following Florida, their presence would determine where jobs will be created and where future investments will be directed. The mobility they will therefore enjoy allows them to choose among several world cities to work and live, as members of the creative class looking for cities with a high life quality, an atmosphere of tolerance and openness, and a rich cultural offer. Consequently, global cities must develop those characteristics if they want to excel in the race to attract the 'creatives'. Through local advertising campaigns, governments try to show their cities as "innovative, exciting, creative, and safe places to live or to visit, and to play and consume in".¹²

Florida's arguments have been severely criticized in academic circles, but many politicians and decision makers around the world have adopted them during the last years, and Berlin is not the exception.¹³ Since 2000, the Department of Economy of the Berlin Senate embraced the 'The creative city' slogan to use in its policies and urban strategies, and has been awarded the title of 'City of Design' by UNESCO, becoming one of the 'Creative Cities Network' in November 2005.¹⁴ The 'three T's' model proposed by Florida (Talent, Tolerance and Technology)

¹¹ Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, XII/404 (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

¹² David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (1989): 3.

¹³ See for example: Kröhnert, Steffen et.al., "Talente, Technologie und Toleranz: Wo Deutschland Zukunft hat," accessed April 6, 2014, http://www.berlin-institut.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Studien/TTT_Webversion.pdf. For a critic of Florida see: Stefan Krätke, "Creative Cities and the Rise of the Dealer Class: A Critique of Richard Florida's Approach to Urban Theory," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34, no. 4 (2010); Ann Markusen, "Urban Development and the Politics of a Creative Class: Evidence from a Study of Artists," *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2006); John Montgomery, "Beware 'the Creative Class': Creativity and Wealth Creation Revisited," *Local Economy* 20, no. 4 (2005); Jamie Peck, "Struggling with the Creative Class," *Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 4 (2005).

¹⁴ Claire Colomb, "Pushing the Urban Frontier: Temporary Uses of Space, City Marketing, and the Creative Discourse in 2000's Berlin," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34, no. 2 (2012).

has been extensively adopted by the Berlin government and it constitutes one of the theoretical premises of the *Be Berlin* campaign to make the city more attractive to newcomers and investors.¹⁵

1.2. Marketing the City Image: The 'Be Berlin' Campaign

The public image of the city of Berlin is responsibility of *Berlin Partner GmbH*, a public-private partnership since 2005 commissioned by the local government to promote the city, mainly as a business and science location.¹⁶ Offering a variety of services for companies and investors, they are in charge of the marketing of the city as well. The capital city campaign *Be Berlin*, launched in 2008, has been the main project to promote the image of the city. The campaign includes a variety of events such as lectures, exhibitions, installations and art exhibitions both in Germany and abroad, supported by testimonies of its own inhabitants, as one of the main strategies to promote the city in a variety of brochures and publications. According to *Berlin Partner*, the campaign *Be Berlin* was designed for three main target recipients: potential investors from both Germany and abroad, Berliners, and "others" (seemingly tourists and visitors) who have a strong interest in the city.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Spiegel Online*, "Economic Prospects Report Berlin Tops Germany for 'Creative Class'," October 10, 2007, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/economic-prospects-report-berlin-tops-germany-for-creative-class-a-510609.html>

¹⁶ <http://www.berlin-partner.de/>

¹⁷ "Hauptstadt-Marketing", website of *Berlin Partner*, accessed April 16, 2014, <http://www.berlin-partner.de/en/marketing.html>. Among the variety of actions directed to Berliners are: a section on the website of the campaign called *Alle Geschichten* (All Stories), which collects the stories of Berliners about their city. "Kampagne-Geschichten", website of *Be Berlin*, accessed on April, 16, 2014, <http://www.sei.berlin.de/kampagne/geschichten/alle-geschichten>; the action *Be Berlinternational* (2011), which collected stories of Berliners with a migratory background and selected some of them as paradigmatic cases of successful integration to be portrayed and displayed over the façade of the *Staatsoper*. "Kampagne-Be Berlinternational", website of *Be Berlin*, accessed April 16, 2014, <http://www.sei.berlin.de/kampagne/be-berlinternational>; the action *Berlin, dein Gesicht* which collected different stories of Berliners engaged with improving the city, which were later displayed over the *Siegessäule*. "Promis zeigen uns ihren engagierten

There are two recurrent elements in the campaign. The first is a simple visual element, a red speech balloon with two pointers, one directed to the center and another to the exterior of the balloon, representing an open speech (figure 1). The second element is a catchy slogan integrated by three short sentences: “be..., be..., be Berlin”, which can be completed with interchangeable adjectives to describe different features of the city. Both elements are very simple, easily recognizable, and an invitation to be completed with the thoughts of the public, requested with this strategy to participate in the campaign. According to its creators, this strategy intends to create an “open dialogue” that connects “national and international audiences with the German Capital”.¹⁸ The idea behind is that the speech balloon performs as a unifying element to make all voices loud and heard. No matter what image or words are added, every message fits the main idea of the campaign: Berlin is the “place to be”, an exciting and surprising city that has something to offer for everyone, and every person can take part of it.

Another strategy is repetition. The logo of the campaign integrated by a graphic simplification of the silhouette of the *Brandenburger Tor* (figure 2) has been placed in plenty of public spots around the city, from the front of buses and trams, to the header of official documents (figure 3). The campaigners intend to create a city signature with this. Huge speech balloons have been placed in public places, like *Alexanderplatz*, the O2 World Arena, the main train station (*Hauptbahnhof*), the Olympic stadium, and some other places that symbolize the urban image that the local government tries to promote (figure 4). Speech

Berliner”, website of *Be Berlin*, accessed on April 16, 2014, <http://www.sei.berlin.de/kampagne/berlin-dein-gesicht/informationen/promis-zeigen-uns-ihren-engagierten-berliner>; and the book: Michael J. Sodaro, *Be Berlin: Gesichter der Hauptstadt* (Berlin: Palmedia, 2008), which presents the most remarkable stories uploaded in the website.

¹⁸ Berlin Partner, “The Place to Be,” Brochure (2012), http://www.sei.berlin.de/sites/default/files/medien/152/dokumente/ThePlaceToBe_imagebrochure_eng.pdf, 33.

balloons work as devices that figuratively make the city speak (under the same logic of the brochure), while isolating and framing a part of the landscape, turning it into a giant postcard. Tourists make pictures of them, including themselves as part of the landscape, thus framed and photographed.

Integrating people and landscape is an idea present in several pictures of the brochure, depicting outstanding Berliners, selected as exemplary models to speak about their city (figure 5). In every picture, the famous guests hold the red speech balloon; some of them place it in front of a building over a part of the landscape, while some others are placed right before their faces. This way, the speech balloon integrates people and landscape in one, and gets them involved in a sort of dialogue. In all these pictures, rather than a written text, the speech balloon is filled with an image. When someone speaks about the city, his/her description is an image: this is Berlin, its places, and also its people. The idea that comes out is while living in this city you may share the exciting lifestyle presented in the pictures and, in some way, the lifestyle of all the creative and successful people portrayed in the brochure. Visiting or living in Berlin means *being* Berlin.

1.3. The City Image in the Brochure ‘The Place to Be’

Since there are plenty of images produced by the campaign I will focus my analysis on the pictures of the main brochure of the campaign, entitled *The Place to Be*. The brochure is divided in six main sections: the place to be for change, for business, for History, for science and for city life. Each section starts with a full page photograph enclosed in a speech balloon connected to a short text that summarizes the features intended to be pointed out (figure 6). Other smaller

pictures and some quotations uploaded by Berliners in the webpage of *Berlin Partner* complete the section. The main image of the section and the smaller photo in the opposite page suggest a sort of dialogue. Analysis allows us to better understand the intentionality behind such images. The way the main picture is framed by the speech balloon, suggests that the image itself is the text of the message: the city speaks and displays itself through images.

Along the almost thirty pages of the brochure we see a city endowed with all those features described by Richard Florida as those preferred by the creative class: tolerance, openness, a rich cultural offer and plenty of open spaces for experimentation. The names of the sections clearly show who the addressers are: 'Business' and 'Science', each as a section of its own, highlight qualities of the city's infrastructure to develop entrepreneurial activities, while 'Change' and 'History' point out the exceptional local features that make the city an attractive and unique place to visit. 'City Life' and 'Art' describe the rich quality of life that the city has to offer. This way, the brochure proves the multiple advantages for investors, visitors and potential residents. In addition, inhabitants are also a target group and in order to make them feel identified with the project of city the local government promotes, testimonies and quotes of common Berliners are used to describe their experiences of the city.

The cover of the brochure in its 2008 edition depicts an aerial view of the city, with the television tower and a line of traffic lights along the *Karl Marx Allee* as a foreground (Figure 7, left). The red speech balloon appears at the top, so the monument seems to speak saying: "the place to be", i.e. Berlin is *the place to be*. The image is cut on the shape of another speech balloon to suggest that the image is the message. The city needs no further introduction, thus the landmark

speaks by itself as a symbol of the city. The cover photograph was changed in the 2011 edition for a shot of the *Brandenburger Tor* (figure 7, right) instead. The picture on this new version shows a partial view of the monument, preciously illuminated at dusk. The photograph was shot at ground level, providing a view of the building the way we would see it as passers-by in *Pariser Platz*. The focus of the image on the left side of the building gives a sensation of proximity, similar to the view of a monument one has when standing in front of it. This angle also helps to balance the speech balloon on the upper left, making it seem as a talking building, speaking on behalf of the city and underlining that you are standing on the right spot. The change in the cover photo shows the evolution of the concept of the campaign, and also a change in the conception of the city. In the first edition, the producers selected the TV tower and the *Karl Marx Allee* as main motifs connecting the city with its communist past. The 2011 cover, in contrast, moves the historical reference to an older past, less problematic in terms of political meaning, while selecting a strong symbol of German reunification: the Brandenburg Gate. The point of view is also changed, while the first edition showed an aerial view, general and impersonal, the second one is substituted with the pedestrian point of view of the most visited sightseeing spot in the city.

1.4. Imaginaries in the Campaign

There is a specific conception of what the city is and what it should be behind every image of the brochure. I use the term 'imaginary' to refer to such conceptions or worldviews that lay behind representations.¹⁹ These imaginaries

¹⁹ About the concept of imaginary see: Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press, 1998 [1987]); Gilbert Durand, "The Implication of the Imaginary and Societies," *Current Sociology* 41, no. 17 (1993).

are far of being neutral; moreover, they embody the particular point of view of its producers. Nevertheless, without a conscious analysis of the images, it is easy to forget that the city image presented is not a neutral portrait, but a representation of a view, and as such it is not shared by all the inhabitants. The city campaign attempts to present a convincing city image that provides identity, legitimization of the official project and patterns of behavior for the members of the society. This way, the advertising campaign works not only for marketing purposes, but also as a political instrument.²⁰ By means of it, the local government produces and reproduces myths, its ideology and a specific way of interpreting the world.²¹

The brochure depicts a city that offers: first, the adequate infrastructure to make business, including a remarkable connection between industry and research institutions and universities; secondly, a wide cultural offer and plenty of entertainment for leisure time; and thirdly, a unique character provided by its also unique history. Some of the imaginaries behind the discourse and images presented in the brochure are analyzed in the following section.

1.4.1. The Ever Changing City

The opening topic selected by *Berlin Partner* for its brochure is change. Such election is not surprising, considering the intense transformations that the city has gone through, because of its turbulent history, and in the light of the phase of feverish reconstruction which started after almost three decades of

²⁰ This conception of imaginary is described in: Bronisław Baczko, *Los imaginarios sociales: Memorias y esperanzas colectivas*, Colección Cultura y sociedad (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión, 1991).

²¹ I elaborate the idea of myth further on chapter 4.

division. Plenty of publications accounting the ambitious architectural and urban projects that would give a new face to the city, filled the shelves of bookstores and souvenirs shops, always highlighting the idea of 'change'. It became a common place, to quote Karl Scheffler, asserting that "Berlin is condemned forever to become and never to be".²² According to Hartmut Häussermann, such characterization has been part of a carefully designed marketing strategy oriented to turn the negative perception of the construction sites, with the annoying noise and traffic jams, into a positive factor that makes the city more exciting. The paradigmatic example of this is the development of *Potsdamer Platz*, an ambitious project that was turned into an essential sightseeing spot and a magnet for tourists "almost *ex nihilo*, with help of a well-orchestrated advertising campaign consisting in an information center, a viewing platform (the so called *info box*) and plenty of cultural events".²³

Considering this, it is not surprising that *Potsdamer Platz* is the site that *Berlin Partner* chose to illustrate the idea of change in the first section of the brochure (Figure 8). The picture shows a view of the corner of *Potsdamer Straße* and *Ebertstraße*, taken from *Leipziger Platz*. In the right foreground we see one of the remaining sections of the Berlin Wall, and behind, the two high towers of the Daimler Quarter, designed by Renzo Piano and Kollhoff & Timmermann respectively. The two towers shape two main vertical lines dominating the photo in contrast with the horizontal, but interrupted line of the Berlin Wall. The view of the high buildings on the corner of *Potsdamer Straße* is one of the favorite motifs

²² The original quote reads: "...das Berlin dazu verdammt: immerfort zu werden und niemals zu sein". Karl Scheffler, *Berlin: Ein Stadtschicksal* (Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1989/1910), 219.

²³ Hartmut Häussermann and Claire Colomb, "The New Berlin: Marketing the City of Dreams," in *Cities and Visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space*, ed. Lily M. Hoffman et.al., Studies in Urban and Social Change (Malden, MA, Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2003), 206.

to represent the *New Berlin*; but in this case, instead of the building of the *Deutsche Bahn* which is commonly portrayed beside the Kollhoff's tower (figure 9, right), the marketers selected to portrait the Renzo Piano tower. This decision may obey to the desire of including the fragment of the Berlin Wall in the picture, in order to accentuate the contrast between new and old. The image of two buildings, related to two different architectural traditions (The Kollhoff Tower is a reference to the Chicago architecture of the 1930s, while Renzo Piano's building is a glass and steel skyscraper in tune with high-tech architecture) provides the impression of a heterogeneous landscape, although both buildings were constructed as part of the same project during the decade of the 1990s. But without the segment of the Berlin Wall, the photo would be probably boring. Two moderated-high corporative buildings, with no great coherence or dialogue between each other, representing no particular architectural tradition do not seem to be the appropriate landmark to represent the city or, at least, to catch the attention of visitors. It is the segment of the Berlin Wall, covered with colorful graffiti, what gives the image its attractiveness and symbolic power. The graffiti in the picture is a work of Kiddy Citny, one of the spontaneous street artists who clandestinely painted on great portions of the Berlin Wall in the 1980s, along with Thierry Noir and Christophe Bouchet, contributing to change the image of the formerly sinister construction. Speaking about their work, Noir has mentioned that his graffiti relates to a time in the eighties when "many artists wanted to meet each other in this wall-city, feeling instinctively that Berlin had that something special which gave the desire to be creative."²⁴ The alternative scene in Berlin

²⁴ According with Noir, their work brought great attention to the Wall and contributed to make a tourist attraction of it. After the fall of the Wall several segments of it were taken away in a quite good state, numbered, and photographed in order to integrate them in a catalogue that consigned 81 segments (33 painted by Thierry Noir and 12 by Kiddy Citny). The segments were

during the 1970's and 1980's constitutes a legendary time in pop culture, thus the marginal position of the divided city attracted young people oriented to alternative lifestyles, artistic expressions and political contestation.²⁵ The thriving atmosphere of creativity and alternative cultural expressions that blossomed during that time is what the campaign attempts to capitalize in this picture. The photograph shows side by side, two contrasting elements: the corporate world represented by the modern buildings of *Potsdamer Platz*, and the alternative scene represented by the graffiti on the Berlin Wall. Placing both elements together is a way to underline the diversity of a city that offers economic prosperity, but also the freedom and excitement of subcultures: every person and every lifestyle can find a place here.

At the same time, the image of *Potsdamer Platz* recalls historical images of the place during the 1920's and the Cold War, strongly imprinted in the collective imaginary. This way, while looking at the current landscape we can nothing but evoke the past and think of how different the place looks now. The segment of the Berlin Wall in the picture works as a keepsake of its history, and that is the importance to make it appear in the picture, along with the modern buildings.

Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the segment of the Wall we see is not placed on its original position. On the contrary, it was placed after reunification, with the specific intention of creating an historical landmark. The graffiti was

sold in an auction in Monaco in June 1990, and made 1,5 million Euros. Noir and Citny became internationally known. Thierry Noir, "The Story of the Berlin Wall", website of Thierry Noir, accessed April 16, 2014, <http://www.galerie-noir.de/ArchivesEnglish/walleng.html>; Marie-Therese Escaut-Marquet and Stephen N. Cristea, *The Berlin Wall Special Auction: Le mur de Berlin, vente aux enchères exceptionnelles. Der Mauer, einmalige Versteigerung der Berliner Mauer* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1990).

²⁵ Thomas J. Seabrook, *Bowie in Berlin: A New Career in a New Town* (London: Jawbone Press, 2008).

placed afterwards too, as we see in the signature.²⁶ The side of the Wall that was covered with graffiti was originally facing the west, while in the picture it is oriented to the east.²⁷ This way, the image that we see is a reenactment of *Potsdamer Platz* from the western point of view: the corporate skyscrapers are symbols of western capitalism, while the historical relic speaks of only one side of the city past, the past of West Berlin. The function of this segment of the Berlin Wall in the picture is not to remind us that the Berlin Wall *was* once there, but to tell us that nowadays it *is not* there. In the picture, the Wall obstructs the view only in half of the image, the other half is free of any obstacle not only to see but also to be crossed; a tangible proof of the prevailing freedom of mobility. It states that we can actually look and cross whatever we may think of that could not look and crossed before. The Wall has no power to block the view or transit anymore, it is powerless.²⁸ The graffiti depicts a similar idea: bright red figures with heart-shaped heads are, according to the creator Kiddy Citny, a symbol of reunification. These simple and colorful figures, representing two united halves, have been easily integrated to the optimistic post-reunification discourse as symbols of freedom and good will.²⁹ The smiling hearts, the vibrating colors, the childish

²⁶ Kiddy Citny and Therry Noir painted several blocks that were sent to MOMA New York and Vatican City (among others). This block belongs to that group.

²⁷ According to the Venice Charter adopted in 1964 by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), neither the lay-out or decoration of historical buildings, nor their original location should be changed. Both aspects were not considered in the conservation of the Berlin Wall. "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites", website of ICOMOS, accessed April 16, 2014, http://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

²⁸ About this double dimension of the Wall as symbol of both freedom and subjugation, see: Michael Diers, "Was ich von der Mauer wissen muss," in *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder: 1949 bis heute*, ed. Gerhard Paul (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 258–65.

²⁹ In his opening speech of the exhibition of Kiddy Citny 'Kind der Stadt', in the foyer of the *Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung* (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development), the state secretary Hans-Jürgen Beerfeltz, stated: "Die Herzgesichter, die gekrönten Häupter, die Kiddy Citny auf die Mauer gemalt hat, wurden nach der Wende als Symbol der neuen Freiheit interpretiert". Quoted in "News", website of the BMZ, March 1, 2012, http://www.bmz.de/de/presse/aktuelleMeldungen/2012/maerz/20120301_ausstellung/index.html (site discontinued). However, Citny has shown a more critic attitude about reunification, for example on his graffiti on the East Side Gallery entitled 'Qui

figures, and even the words in the graffiti recall an optimistic mood of love and freedom. This way, it is clear why the producers of the *Be Berlin* campaign may have selected this image of the Berlin Wall, because they were interested on highlighting its artistic or cultural dimension, instead of its historical or even, political character. Had they selected a segment of the Wall with no graffiti on its surface, like the one standing next to the exhibition *Topographie des Terrors* for example (figure 10), the result would have been very different. In *Topographie* we see the naked Wall, showing its materiality, instead of being absorbed by the colors and figures.

Another interesting aspect in the selection of the picture of *Potsdamer Platz* is that, though it was an enormous construction site during the 1990s, its construction is finished for some time now, and there have not been many changes there for years. Nonetheless, the text that matches the picture states that Berlin is a city “constantly in motion”, and “what you see today might look completely different tomorrow”.³⁰ The former statement suits the *Potsdamer Platz* of the 1990s, but not its nowadays situation. That can be said too about most of the rest of the city. The former neglected downtown areas have been already reshaped and reconstructed. Therefore what the brochure describes is not merely the reality of the city, but a mythical image of it. It reinforces the idea of an ever-changing city, consolidated through decades of turbulent history and more than one decade of intense reconstruction. The brochure shows a fossilized

baise qui’ (Who fucks who?). Questioned about the meaning of the title of his graffiti on the East Side Gallery, Citny answered: “Thierry Noir erzählte mir in den 90er Jahren von der East Side Gallery und fragte mich, ob ich sie mit bemalen würde. Mir gefiel die Idee. Ich wollte die Geschichte der Wiedervereinigung erzählen, die Stimmung nach dem Mauerfall beschreiben – nämlich dass der Westen der Sieger der Wiedervereinigung ist. Auf meinem Bild sieht man daher Ruderknechte, die von der Galeere gestoßen werden. Deswegen auch der Titel qui baise qui”. Quoted in Janna Illhardt, “Wir müssen die Lücke zumauern. East Side Gallery: Mauerkünstler Kiddy Citny im Interview,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, March 28, 2013.

³⁰ Berlin Partner 2009, 2.

image of the immediate years after reunification, years when Berlin started to be identified as a dynamic experimental city, where “everything is possible”.

The picture on the opposite page (first edition of the brochure, figure 11) shows two images of *Leipziger Platz* taken in two different moments. On top we see a historical photograph taken during the Cold War, while at the bottom, a shot of the reshaped square taken in 2010 is displayed. The old photo, in black and white, depicts a desolated place with only a few buildings in the background, void of any person or action. Only two signs in the foreground indicate the place where the American sector ended, and the former entrance to the metro station. The signs stay like residues of a time gone, when the place was alive, and provides the picture with a ghostly atmosphere. The terrain is undetermined and vague, only some lines remaining of the old square in shape of an octagon, remind us that this place was once a busy square. In contrast, the new photo shows a defined space, closed and symmetric. The wholeness of the square, shaped by the buildings, gives the impression of a stable, tidy place. The remaining empty spaces of the block are hidden under a cover simulating building's façades. A line of car lights in the middle, crossing the square, gives vitality and dynamism to the picture.

The contrast between both images underlines differences between past and present: The old square was a static empty place, a barrier; while the new square is a spot where the transit moves fluently. The historical development of the place ends in a “better” present, overcoming the authoritarianism of the GDR for inhabitants to enjoy freedom in a unified and democratic society. The contrast between the signs on both pictures depicts an interesting opposition: the sign on the upper image is there to hinder the transit; it means prohibition, while the sign

on the image in the bottom offers the possibility of choosing (choosing commodities to consume) by using attractive, bright colors.

By comparing two pictures of the same place in different decades, the brochure intends to bring the experience of the dramatic changes occurred there to the present. There are barely a few traces of the desolated landscape of the first picture in the current site: if we look at the current *Leipziger Platz*, it is difficult to perceive the scars of past times. That is why the brochure adds a historical picture, as a point of comparison with the current image. This way, the before/after pictures are used as a strategy to make the past visible, and to produce the effect of 'seeing' the traces of time: "The Berlin Wall fell on November 9, 1989, and less than a year later, the two German states were reunited (...) A number of 'sites of transformation' will bring the process leading up to German Reunification and its ultimate outcome to life", states the text on the picture. This way, the pictures of the brochure show not only the actual places that visitors can see, but also historical places that visitors are willing to 'live': "In many places in the city, you can experience this history first hand", claims the brochure.³¹

But this strategy involves a paradox. The idea of everlasting change, advertised in the brochure, comes into conflict with the purpose of urban politics, oriented to restore normality in the city. Certainly the phase of reconstruction cannot last forever, and more than two decades of renovation works have resulted in a better defined urban texture. Many of the former voids were filled to make way to new offices, hotels and retail spaces, so that the city cannot keep being the 'empty canvas' it used to be in the years after reunification. The atmosphere of 'anything is possible' is gone, because building the 'New Berlin'

³¹ Berlin Partner 2009, 3.

invariably leads to the extinction of the 'old' one. But the brochure intends to sustain that both possibilities persist: Berlin is new and modern, and also changing and exciting.

The wholeness of the building blocks in *Leipziger Platz* is shown as proof that the dark war days are gone and normality is restored. Both federal and local politics have been oriented their urban policies to cover the scars of the turbulent recent history and to restore the city fabric.³² Under the official discourse, the restoration of city fabric seems to be the physical equivalent to the triumph and reinstallation of Democracy. The bombed, destroyed buildings and empty plots belong to the past, just like the communist dictatorship and the division. But here contradiction arises once again. The brochure highlights that the city has overcome that time, but still insists that it is in process of construction, not completely defined yet. This way we find another myth about the city on which the brochure capitalizes: the myth of the voids of Berlin. During the 1990s talking about the so called 'voids' of Berlin became a common place.³³ The voids, those empty parcels of land left by the bombings, and later by the Wall, constituted free spaces to develop experimental projects, such as nightclubs or art centers. These experimental spaces soon became a central item in the characterization of the city.³⁴ But it is paradoxical that the urban renewal implemented by the local

³² The attempt to restore the city landscape to a stage of its past before the WWII, and to erase the traumatic traces of its history, was widely discussed by the critics of the so called 'Critical Reconstruction'. This topic has been analyzed in: Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Michael Z. Wise, *Capital Dilemma: Germany's Search for a New Architecture of Democracy* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998).

³³ See: Andreas Huyssen, "The Voids of Berlin," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 1 (1997).

³⁴ The exceptional conditions of the divided city during the Cold War favored the flourishing of a vibrant alternative scene in the marginal neighborhoods of West Berlin (*Kreuzberg* and *Schöneberg*), situation that also continued during the immediate years after reunification in some Eastern neighborhoods (*Friedrichshain* and *Prenzlauerberg*). The availability of vacant buildings left behind by the extinction of the GDR, low rents, and the relative tolerance of the owners to reclaim their properties attracted many young people holding critical political views and willing to experiment with alternative lifestyles. The potential of vacant lots is also examined

government constitutes one of the reasons why such alternative spaces find more and more difficulties to survive every now and then, as that is evidenced by the demise of the art house *Tacheles*, the clubs *Tresor* or Bar 25, and many evicted squats in *Kreuzberg*, *Mitte* or *Friedrichshain*. This conflict is hidden in the brochure by a harmonic image where opposites, such as past and present, East and West, alternative and mainstream, coexist without any conflict under the umbrella of 'change'. According to the brochure's discourse, the conflict between these contradictory elements is not a problem at all; on the contrary, it just increases the charm and vitality of the city. "Shaped by opposites", "open space for new ways of thinking", "constantly in motion", "cosmopolitan, unorthodox and alive", and a city where "change is a way of life", are just some of the phrases that the brochure utilizes to support this idea. This way, the brochure neutralizes conflict and sells it as a distinctive feature of the city, hiding any trace of social struggle around the dominion of space and inequality in its distribution. We will go further on this issue in chapter three.

The way the brochure describes 'change' in Berlin may be also an attempt to compensate the negative perceptions produced during the dramatic transformation of the city after Reunification. It was not easy for many Berliners to manage the abrupt extinction of an entire world (the GDR), and see its city suddenly occupied by new people, new buildings, new stores, and so on. Presenting change as an exciting feature of the city may be a strategy to transform the angst that many inhabitants experienced into a more comforting feeling, one that presents change as exciting and stimulant. This idea is

in: Ignasi Sola-Morales Rubio, "Terrain Vague," in *Anyplace*, ed. Cynthia C. Davidson (Cambridge, Mass. [u.a.]: MIT Press [u.a.], 1995), 118–23.

presented on pages 2 and 3, by the dialogue between the main picture of the section (page 2) and a smaller picture on the upper right corner on page 3 (Figure 6). On one side, we see *Potsdamer Platz*, the changing emblematic spot of the New Berlin, on the opposite page; we see the *Brandenburger Tor* working as a sort of anchor, a counter image, a familiar referent, a symbol of the city that remains throughout time, classic and permanent.

1.4.2. The Business Hub

After setting the New Berlin as a modern and vibrant city which has left its turbulent past behind, the next section highlights the elements that make it an ideal place to establish a business too. The main photograph in this section is a close-up of the steel and glass skyscraper designed by the German-American architect Helmuth Jahn for the *Deutsche Bahn* in *Potsdamer Platz* (Figure 12). The tower is part of a spectacular complex developed by Sony, crowned by an impressive glass structure which is one of the landmarks in the cityscape. The photograph focuses on the windows of the building, allowing a sight to the office space, and showing the glass façade as a symbol of corporative architecture, and therefore as a symbol of modernity. The tower links *Potsdamer Platz* with the tradition of the glass curtain wall of American skyscrapers. Similar to other photographs in the brochure, this image places architecture as background, while the attention is focused in a casual element that provides a touch of creativity. The row of windows is placed on the background, while a giant soap bubble shows up in the foreground as central motif. The text under the photograph states: “In the course of its rapid development, Berlin has transformed itself from a location for traditional industries into a dynamic service and technology

metropolis”.³⁵ Instead of showing the modern silhouette of the building, as it is usually portrayed, the picture focuses on the grid formed by the succession of windows, introducing a double play between transparency and reflection: some of the windows allow a glimpse inside the offices, while others work as a mirror. This way, the building becomes an enormous display window that shows the corporate world that blends whatever we might see with our own reflection.³⁶ The reflection is also present in the bubbles. This way, the picture offers both possibilities: looking himself/herself in the mirror of the corporate building, or looking inside the playful soap bubbles. Berlin has something for every taste. The combination of corporate image and fun suggested by the picture may be understood as an attempt to place Berlin in a more competitive position as a Business hub. In terms of business, Berlin is far from competing with other German cities like Frankfurt or Düsseldorf, so the campaign advocates not only to the traditional characteristics of a business center, but highlights the ‘charm’ of the city as a plus that makes it unique.

A similar idea is also present in the photograph on the opposite page (figure 13). Two young women walk over the *Oberbaumbrücke*, while in the foreground, we see the Allianz Tower in Berlin-Treptow.³⁷ The simple lines of the tower are framed by one of the arcs of the bridge. On one hand, the pointed arc of the bridge links the modern tower with an old architecture tradition (the brick Gothic of the turn of the 19th century), while a touch of modernity is added by the silvery shape of the ‘Molecule Man’ sculpture, designed by American artist

³⁵ Berlin Partner 2009, 4.

³⁶ About the symbolic value of transparency and reflection in architecture see: Peter Krieger, *Paisajes urbanos: Imagen y memoria* (Mexico: UNAM, 2006).

³⁷ The Allianz tower is part of a complex of offices designed by the German architect Gerhard Spangenberg. Built between 1995 and 1998, the Allianz Tower is, after the Park Inn hotel in Alexanderplatz, the second highest building in Berlin.

Jonathan Borofsky.³⁸ In the picture, the arc resembles a window that gives us a glimpse into the “New Berlin”. On one side of the “window”, two women walk under the vault of the old bridge, while the tower of the insurance company Allianz dominates the landscape, as a vigilant presence illuminated by sunset. The solidity and darkness of the red brick vault contrast with the modern luminous glass façade of the tower, while the traditional architecture of the historical bridge contrasts with the casual look of the two women. This picture shows again a mixture of elements that, placed together, represent the ideal of city attempted to be shown: the modern metropolis, ideal for business making is represented by the Allianz Tower, while the *Molecule Man* reminds us the artistic scene of the city. The bridge adds tradition and history, and represents the division and subsequent reunification of the city; thus during Cold War crossing the *Oberbaumbrücke* was forbidden and it was only after reunification that the bridge recuperated its function to link East and West Berlin. The two women personify the relaxed lifestyle in the city.

The selection of a picture of the area around the *Oberbaumbrücke* to enter in dialogue with the main picture of the section is not casual at all. That area, on the banks of the river Spree, is considered as the biggest urban development in Berlin since *Potsdamer Platz*. Envisioned as a media quarter on the Spree River waterfront, the so called *Mediaspree* project follows the tendency of similar urban projects in other cities, like the *Hafen City* in Hamburg or the London Docklands in England. Corporations as MTV and Universal moved their headquarters to this

³⁸ Produced in 2007, the one-hundred-foot tall aluminum sculpture is composed of three figures meeting in the center. According to the artist, the three figures refer to the molecules of all human beings coming together to create our existence. The confluence of the human figures however, is especially pregnant given the location of the sculpture over the Spree River, in a place where the limits between East and West Berlin used to be located.

area, in an attempt to capitalize the relaxed and young atmosphere of the nearby districts and their young alternative scene. It seems clear that the picture in the brochure is addressed to young professionals who can feel identified and attracted to this mixture of business, creative industries, art and leisure offer.

At this point we find another conflict derived of the city image that the brochure shows. Since 2008, the *Mediaspree* project has been object of wide criticism from neighbors and owners of local business, and has unleashed a number of civil protests, which spread to such a great extent, that the original plan had to be changed and newly discussed. The local government intends to capitalize the scene of Berlin's subcultures to attract visitors, young creative professionals and corporations linked to music industry and fashion. But the protesters have reacted against the project, concerned with the increasing gentrification of the area and privatization of public space. The tension comes from the fact that large development projects like *Mediaspree* have weakened the much-acclaimed diversity of the subcultural scene in the long run. Bader & Sharenberg assert that using subcultures as a branding strategy for city marketing may result in the destruction of autonomous spaces, since this practice "simultaneously undermine the everyday conditions necessary to sustain the creative process itself".³⁹ A similar phenomenon can be observed, in regards to the incorporation of temporary uses of space to the official urban policies and city marketing campaigns, according with Claire Colomb, because their commodification via the city marketing, "changes the way such spaces work and

³⁹ Ingo Bader and Albert Sharenberg, "The Sound of Berlin: Subculture and the Global Music Industry," *Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34, no. 1 (2010). See also: Peter Hall, "Creative Cities and Economic Development," *Urban Studies* 37, no. 4 (2000); Ingo Bader and Martin Bialluch, "Gentrification and the Creative Class in Berlin-Kreuzberg," in *Whose Urban Renaissance? An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Policies*, ed. Libby Porter and Kate Shaw, Routledge Studies in Human Geography 26 (London: Routledge, 2009).

often threatens their very existence by raising investors' interest in previously neglected areas".⁴⁰

The *Mediaspree* project constitutes an example of the variety of positions which emerge in relation to complex urban processes, as much as the tension related to social struggle over the use of space. Different users are willing to materialize their own visions for the same space. This way, local government and investors see in the waterfront an attractive spot to build a profitable corporate media complex, whereas for some of the inhabitants, it represents a room for experimentation, for cultural-social projects, or leisure. For some others it is the area where their small businesses are located. In a similar way, the lively music and art scene, along with the many experimental grassroots urban projects of the area, are a way of life for some. The government and some enterprises see them as a feature that may increase the appeal of the district. The problem with the brochure is that it presents only one of these multiple interpretations and presents it as a neutral portrait of the city. This constitutes one of the main critical points of the city image promoted in the campaign.⁴¹

To sum up, we have seen that the section 'Business' of the brochure utilizes references to history and the subcultural scene, and put them to work together to make the city more attractive to investors and young professionals. The problem with such a strategy is that it imposes a very specific city image, created to favor specific interests. At the same time, it hides the complexity and

⁴⁰ Claire Colomb, "Pushing the Urban Frontier: Temporary Uses of Space, City Marketing, and the Creative Discourse in 2000's Berlin," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34, no. 2 (2012): 133.

⁴¹ See the polemic around the permission gave by the local government to a developer to remove several slabs of the Wall located in the East Side Gallery, in order to make room for the entrance of a new complex of luxury apartments. James Angelos, "Protests Over Wall Widen in Berlin.: Demonstrators Vow to Block Planned Shift of Artwork-Covered Section for Condominium Development," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 3, 2013; *Spiegel Online*, "Luxury Project Suspended: Protests in Berlin Save the Wall for Now," April 3, 2013.

tensions inherent to social organization and the struggle for space use. Contradictions are neutralized and sold as diversity, and history is placed at the service of profits: “It’s the variety, (...) the cosmopolitanism, its uncramped way of thinking, its many cultures and the fact that you can do or experience something new every day”, praises the brochure about the many qualities of the city.⁴²

1.4.3. History, Memory and Identity

The idea of change, analyzed in the first section, finds its counterpart in the fourth section of the brochure called ‘History’. The section is illustrated with a big satellite map of the city, with the districts marked with white lines, and the former frontiers between East and West Berlin highlighted with a red pointed line (figure 14). The map is framed by a circle, which represents a timeline that surrounds the city’s territory with some significant dates of its history. The image combines the notions of space and time, where space, differentiated and divided as it appears, is at the same time a unity, thus the mixed territory shares a common history, represented by the circle around the city. Both the subtitle of the section (“*Berlin, eine Stadt im Wandel der Zeit*”. Berlin, a City through the Ages) and the historical conception drawn by the picture, highlight an idea of continuity, rather than change, as the former section. Though visually, the producers selected a circle to represent time, the historical conception is linear, starting with the foundation of the city (the origin), and ending in the present. The pointed line of the circle may represent the turbulent past, marked by some interruptions, but

⁴² Berlin Partner 2009, 5.

always maintaining continuity and giving unity to the territory. The tiny red arrowheads, pointing to the end of the circle transmit the idea of development towards the future, in all probability to progress. The chronology is focused on the recent past. Almost all the historical events marked on the line corresponds to the 20th and 21st centuries (from a total of 26 dates, only three of them correspond to a date earlier than the 20th century). This way, the historical notion delivered by the image combines change and history as notions that complement each other. Analyzing how the past is described by the 'heritage industry', Robert Hewison explains its function:

Continuity between past and present creates a sense of sequence out of aleatory chaos and, since change is inevitable, a stable system of ordered meaning enables us to cope with both innovation and decay. The nostalgic impulse is an important agency in adjustment to crisis, it is a social emollient and reinforces national identity when confidence is weakened or threatened.⁴³

This way, the uncertainty that the idea of a city in constant change may arise, is balanced with a reassuring conception of a historical development directed towards progression, where change always occurred with a purpose and oriented to a better future. The turbulent history of the city makes sense when it is presented in a timeline, made of causal connections that lead to the present order, which supposed to be the highest stage of the historical development. This idea is clearly represented in the two pictures of Leipziger Platz above mentioned (figure 11). The contrast of both pictures establishes that the present time is better than the past, and the time of the divided city was just an anomalous interruption in its historical development continuum. The enormous mall that is presently

⁴³ Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, A Methuen Paperback (London: Methuen London, 1987), 47.

under construction on the plot, *Leipziger Platz 12*, is advertised by its creators as a restoration of the old character of the place (the famous department store *Wertheim*) interrupted by Nazism, war and division (figure 15).⁴⁴ Those episodes altered the *natural* development of the city, and this way, the present project is conceptualized as an ‘act of justice’ and a return to its true destiny. This way, change means continuity and stability.

The idea of continuity is also represented in another section of the brochure by placing together two buildings from different times, but with a similar function or meaning. This way the symbolical meaning already recognized in the old building can be ascribed to the new one too. In page six of the brochure, for example, there is a section entitled “Structural Transformation. From ‘Electropolis’ to High-tech Location” (Figure 16). The picture on the top shows the so called *Beamten Tor*, an old gate designed by the architect Franz Schwechten in 1876 to frame the entrance of an AEG building in *Brunnenstrasse*. Below the text, we see another picture of one of the platforms of the *Hauptbahnhof*, with its enormous glass ceiling on the background. The text accompanying these pictures describes the “rapid structural change that Berlin went through in the process of transforming itself from a city of traditional industries into a center for pioneering technologies and services”.⁴⁵ Reading this quotation, it seems clear that both pictures were placed together with the intention of building a narrative of historical continuity, from the ‘cathedrals of work’ to a modern *Kathedrale des Verkehrs* (figure 17). The image of the brand-new *Hauptbahnhof* has been a favorite motif to represent the New Berlin in many pictures, mostly underlining its

⁴⁴ The website of *Leipziger Platz 12*, accessed August 12, 2013, <http://www.leipzigerplatz12.de> (site discontinued).

⁴⁵ Berlin Partner 2009, 6.

symbolic and aesthetic values (figure 18). In contrast, the picture on the brochure focuses on functionality, presenting a shot taken from one of its platforms, with the signals in the foreground, at the very moment when some passengers board the train. Both buildings, the *Beamten Tor* and *Hauptbahnhof*, have a structure formed by an arc, working as a threshold, with two towers flanking the entrance. Both arcs have a different appearance: one looks heavy and antique, while the other is light and modern. This way, both buildings are similar and different at the same time. Its similarities and contrasts link them. The *Beamten Tor* looks like a relic of past times and *Hauptbahnhof* may be its heir. The dialogue established between both pictures speaks of a long historical tradition in Berlin, from the time of industrialization during the *Gründerzeit*, till the new buoyant service economy in times of late capitalism.

A similar analogy may be established between the picture of *Hauptbahnhof* and the digital simulation of the new Berlin-Brandenburg International Airport on the next page (figure 19). Both images share a similar composition, with the trail of the train running in the middle, leading to the glass building of the station in the background. The virtual character of the second image may be interpreted as an image of the future: if the *Beamten Tor* is the image of the city's past, and *Hauptbahnhof* the image of the present, the new Berlin Brandenburg Airport can be seen as the future of the city as great European capital city.

In a similar fashion, pictures on pages eight and nine are placed together in dialogue (figure 20). On the left, we see a virtual image of the Bode Museum, direct on the banks of the river Spree (taken from the virtual world website Twinity); while on the right we see a night view of the new offices of Universal,

also on the shore of the Spree (figure 21). Both pictures are placed side by side, as mirror images, showing the buildings and their reflection on the river surface. The bond established between both images may be interpreted in a similar way than the two examples describes below, in which case, the Bode Museum would be the symbol of the cultural tradition of the city (The Museums Island), while the building of Universal would be its 'modern' version: mass culture, represented through entertainment industry. In another section, the façades of *Charité* and the Photonic Centre in *Adlershof* are placed together as two versions of scientific knowledge and research over time (figure 22). All these examples show the same strategy of presenting new buildings as modern versions of others standing in the city for a long time. They are part of the 'new' Berlin, but are also the continuation of a long tradition, a new expression of the city essence.

In summary, the city image presented in the brochure shows a one-dimensional approach to the history and identity of the city. The possible contradictions and paradoxes that may arise from the complexity of the urban phenomena are neutralized or hidden, and discordant points of view and local memories are also ignored. The architecture and memory of the GDR, for example, is completely absent in the brochure; and the still alive conflicts of integration between East and West are presented as an issue already solved. All these omissions are not banal, especially considering that, since the campaigners consider inhabitants as one of the target groups, they are dealing with issues of identity and collective memory. If the brochure meant to present an official image of the city, it would be desirable that it were more inclusive and less authoritarian, and that it took into account a broader range of voices and points of view.

1.4.4. The Capital of Culture and Technology

The third section of the brochure, “The Place to Be for Art”, shows a picture of the performance ‘Dialogue 09’, created by the German choreographer Sasha Waltz, and presented in the *Neues Museum* shortly before its reopening in 2009 (figure 23).⁴⁶ The picture shows one of the walls of the so called ‘Greek Courtyard’, which, after the restoration conducted by the English architect David Chipperfield, shows the cracks and fractures that the building suffered across the time, as if they were scars.⁴⁷ The highest half of the wall looks rough and naked, while the lowest half, in contrast, shows a smooth surface made of a mixture of white cement with marble chips. The contrast of textures accentuates the difference between old and new. Facing the wall, four dancers, three women and one man, hang up, holding from the edge of the wall with both outstretched arms. There are many elements in the picture suggesting contrast: the horizontal line dividing the wall almost in the middle, contrasting with the verticality of the pendant figures of the dancers; the black dresses of the dancers on the center, in contrast with the white clothes of the dancers on the corners; and the fragility of their bodies in contrast with the heavy wall.

The picture is placed in dialogue with another smaller picture on the opposite page. On the smaller picture, we see one of the remaining fragments of the Berlin Wall on a close-up perspective and covered with graffiti. The walls on

⁴⁶ The Performance took place in March 2009, while the museum was opened in October of the same year. *Dialogue 09* is part of a series of performances created to be staged in empty buildings before their opening, including: *Dialogue '99/I* in *Sophiensäle*, *Dialogue '99/II* in the *Jüdisches Museum* (1999), or *Dialogue 06* in *Radialsystem* (2006). <http://www.sashawaltz.de>

⁴⁷ After the renovation works, which lasted ten years, the museum is today the most visited museum in the city. The design of Chipperfield Architects followed the lines of the Venice Charter, which recommend restoring historic buildings not only as a work of art but as historical evidence. Under this concept, everything that remained of the building was conserved, avoiding replicating what was destroyed and conserving the traces of history visible, though within a new modern context. “Neues Museum”, website of David Chipperfield Architects, accessed on April 16, 2014, <http://www.davidchipperfield.co.uk/>

both pictures are similar in their roughness, but opposite in their meaning. The wall in the museum is part of an institutional building, renovated by a world renowned architect and aestheticized with the delicate bodies of the dancers covered with soft fabrics. The Berlin Wall, on the contrary, is a concrete wall, crashed and scratched by time, weathering and, probably, by the violence of hammers. Its surface is covered by the colorful and chaotic graffiti accumulated over time by the hand of anonymous street artists. This way, we may link each picture with a different kind of artistic expression: the wall of the *Neues Museum* represents high culture, while the graffiti of the Berlin Wall represents low culture.

At the caption of the main picture we read: “Rough façades, cracks, contradictions –Berlin is a city full of fractures. The new standing next to the old, the beautiful next to the ugly, the colorful next to the grey. And that is exactly what makes the city so interesting for creative people from all over the world. Berlin vibrates, pulses, inspires”.⁴⁸ The ‘contradictions’, ‘cracks’ and ‘fractures’ that the text mentions are presented as metaphors of the own character of the city, and are also associated with the wide range of cultural activities that the city has to offer: old, new, beautiful, ugly, colorful, grey, and so on. This idea is expressed in a quote at the top of the page too: “...Berlin is multifaceted and has something for everyone”.⁴⁹

This way, artistic expressions are presented as a set of cultural goods, offered to be consumed, preferably voided of any political or social meaning. The ‘fractures’ and ‘cracks’ that the text mentions are the result of violent historical

⁴⁸ Berlin Partner 2009, 10.

⁴⁹ The words of Michael Flachenächer, the man who wrote the text and uploaded to the website, are quoted however only partially. His full text is: „Berlin ist die Hauptstadt der Hauptstädte, leider kann ich bis zur Rente dort nicht mehr leben. Berlin ist vielfältig und bietet für wirklich jeden etwas“. We do not know why the man cannot stay in the city until his retirement, but it would not be daring to think that gentrification had something to do. Ibid., 11.

processes, tinged by blood and death; the same way that the Wall was not created to be a canvas for graffiti artists, but as a physical barrier with political motivations. Conversely, the social context in which the graffiti of the Berlin Wall was produced was the subculture scene of the margins of the city, strongly marked by rebellious political views and a strong rejection of the prevailing system. But these political and social conditions have been deleted from the images of the brochure, remaining only the aesthetic dimension. The picture depicting a part of the performance *Dialogue 09* brings to mind crude images, strongly imprinted on the collective memory of many Germans, i.e. people hanging from the windows of their apartments in *Bernauer Strasse*, in a desperate effort to escape to West Berlin (figure 24). But the human drama of such attempts of flight is not the main topic of the picture. In a similar fashion, the close-up of the Wall in the second picture does not focus on the Wall itself, but on the colorful surface of the graffiti. In both cases, the memory of the Wall is not called as an historical or political episode, but as an artistic object.

Furthermore, though the brochure praises repeatedly the diversity of cultural expressions in the city, all the pictures focus in a cultural offer that targets a very specific sector of population with a certain cultural and economic level: museums, dance, theatre, opera, and art galleries are the principal cultural expressions illustrated (figure 25). The lively scene of street art or the alternative cultural projects working all throughout the city are absent, whereas the prosperous industries of fashion and design occupy an entire page (figure 26). The cultural offer represented in the brochure refers to a very specific segment of population and its cultural preferences, and it is portrayed as a commodity.

If we look at the next section, “The Place to Be for Science”, we see a similar direction in the discourse. The city infrastructure linked to science (universities and research institutions) is presented in connection with technology and industry. The text states: “Berlin’s universities, along with roughly 70 non-university research institutions, use their close ties to business and political spheres to translate their knowledge quickly and efficiently into new and competitive products”.⁵⁰ This way, science is placed at the service of economic profits. On page 20 the text states: “The tech park at *Adlershof* (...) embodies the economic future of Berlin: this is where education, knowledge and creativity flow together in a highly productive manner”.

The main picture of the section shows the interior of the Philological Library in the *Freie Universität Berlin* (figure 27). Despite the caption describes the long tradition of some Institutions in Berlin, citing examples like the *Humboldt Universität* and the *Charité* Hospital which celebrated their anniversaries in 2010, the selected main picture does not show any of these institutions. The election of the FU library is quite obvious if we compare its modern architecture with the more traditional buildings of the HU and Charité, not to mention that it was designed by the star British architect Norman Foster, who also designed the cupola of the *Reichstag*. The photograph focuses on distinctive features of the building, like its light metal cover and the curved lines of the stairs. In this section we recognize a similar strategy to the one observed in the picture of the *Deutsche Bahn* tower in *Potsdamer Platz* mentioned before. We do not see a view of the entire building, but a close up of one of its parts, focusing on their futuristic forms. The concave white-luminous grid of the roof of the library resembles the interior

⁵⁰ Berlin Partner 2009, 20.

of a spaceship, bringing the thought of being at the very forefront of cutting edge technology and scientific research. The same meaning derives from the picture of the Photonic Centre in Berlin-Adlershof (figure 28), also called the 'Amoeba' (due to the form of its floor plant and its undulating contours), which according to the brochure "resembles some sort of high-tech creature from outer space".⁵¹

1.4.5. Social Issues

"Everyone is welcome in Berlin, no matter their origins, religion, worldview or lifestyle", states the brochure.⁵² The pictures present, however, a limited range of places and activities, addressed to a very specific sector of inhabitants with a defined socio-economic status and specific consuming habits. People portrayed in the brochure are mainly young professionals working in the so called creative branches. The prominent Berliners selected to appear in the brochure are: Stefanie Hoffmann, a young German entrepreneur, who started a business in media industry almost out of the blue; Frank Briegmann, the young president of Universal Music Germany; Miranda Schreurs, Director of the Research Department for Environmental Policy at the FU-Berlin; Prof. Norbert Langhoff, President of the Institute for Scientific Instruments; Wladimir Kaminer, a local celebrity, writer and DJ; Florian Keller, Hockey player and Olympic medalist, and actresses Nela Winkler and Maren Kroymann (figure 5). All of them seem to be considered as exemplary models of Berliners, young and successful, 'cool' and with high purchase power. The rest of the people portrayed in the pictures of the brochure are either consumers, which we see in restaurants, coffee shops, beach

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Berlin Partner 2009, 23.

bars or night clubs; or people related to art and entertainment, like artist, performers, models, etc. (Figure 29).

Though the text describes a multicultural city, characterized by diversity, we do not see such diversity in the pictures. According to the own statistics of the Berlin government, in 2008 25% of inhabitants in Berlin had migration backgrounds.⁵³ Nevertheless the only persons with a clear foreign background in the brochure are: Wladimir Kaminer, a writer of Russian origin, who might represent a successful example of integration; a black woman dancing in the *Karnaval der Kulturen*, who appears as a sort of exotic entertainment; and the athletes in the Berlin Marathon, who are not exactly Berliners, since they come to the city only for the race (figure 30).

The inadequate representation of Berliners with migration backgrounds in the *Be Berlin* campaign becomes also apparent in a comparison of one picture of the brochure, with the picture used by the local newspaper *Berliner Morgenpost* in its campaign *Das ist Berlin* (figure 31), both depicting a scene in a park. Though the scenario of both pictures is mainly the same, the people depicted are quite different. In the brochure we see only young white people, while in the picture of the *Berliner Morgenpost* the main motif is a group of Turkish women, wearing *hijabs*. Both images are quite usual in Berlin's parks, but the weak correlation between the discourse in the text and what the pictures show is still remarkable. This way, we can infer that the celebrated diversity in the text refers only to a segment of well-educated and high-income migrants, and not to all of them. Or we can even venture to say that the so called multiculturalism may be just an

⁵³ *Die Beauftragten für Integration und Migration in Berlin*, „Neue Daten: Rund 25 % der Bevölkerung hat Migrationshintergrund“, official website of Berlin, 2/7/2008, <http://www.berlin.de/lb/intmig/presse/archiv/20080702.1000.104149.html>

abstract concept utilized to create an image of optimistic cosmopolitanism that makes the city more attractive. Not all Berliners are depicted in the pictures of the brochure; we only see people considered attractive, successful or 'cool' enough to increase the appeal of the city. The brochure shows a specific-class vision of urban life devoid of any trace of class struggle.

I am aware that an advertising campaign may not be the arena to discuss class struggle, but the problem goes beyond this. The main issue is that the brochure relies on a highly elitist conception of society which privileges a specific segment of the population, its lifestyle and consumption habits; while other sectors that do not fit such conception are ignored. The city image represented in the brochure masks contradictions in the current urban and social policies, and indirectly reinforces them. The campaign shows a city designed for young professionals and high-income population, able to broaden the tax base of the city, while other sectors of the population who do not fit such model are displaced. Discussing the effects of addressing city advertising campaigns to a class-specific target, Timothy Gibson explains:

Even if the campaign succeeds admirably in attracting its prized single professionals and empty nesters, the likely result of this process (...) would be an accelerated cycle of real estate speculation, ending in the displacement of long-time residents and the progressive gentrification of district neighborhoods (...) The district that would emerge from this process would be a revitalized city with a broader tax base, enhanced city services, better schools and stunning variety of retail and cultural amenities. But, in the process, many working families who sustained their neighborhoods through the difficult years would be unable to compete for housing and would ultimately be excluded from participating in their city's revitalized future.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Timothy A. Gibson, "Selling City Living: Urban Branding Campaigns, Class Power and the Civic Good," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8, no. 3 (2005): 274.

Since reunification, some areas that used to be considered as marginal, due to their proximity with the Wall, recovered their central location and were extensively renovated. Not only buildings were subject of dramatic changes, but also population and daily life in general suddenly changed, when the former marginal neighborhoods became trendy. In this context, a significant percentage of population abandoned the city and those who stayed have faced a constant struggle against displacement and gentrification since then. The arrival of newcomers, generally people with high-incomes, have increased the rents till the point that gentrification is currently one of the main concerns of social movements in the city. Several citizens' initiatives like *Mediaspree Versenken*, *Freunde des Mauerparks e.V.*, or *Tempelhof für Alle* emerged in the last few years. Such movements share a common concern with leasing prices of rents, the scarcity of social housing, and the privileges that real estate agencies and multinational corporations apparently enjoyed under the current urban policies. The social discontent has found other less organized ways of expression, like the wave of anti-tourists messages spread in some areas of *Kreuzberg* (figure 32), or even more radical actions, like burning luxury cars in retaliation.⁵⁵

A central point in this issue, as Claire Colomb has pointed out, is that the campaign shows a 'city vision' designed "in closed circles by a restricted elite of officials, business leaders and consultants, with little or no public involvement"

⁵⁵ Sebastian Leber, "Hetze in Berlin: Touristenhasser raus!," *Der Tagesspiegel*, April 7, 2012; Johannes Novy, "Berlin Does Not Love You: Notes on Berlin's "Tourism Controversy" and its Discontents," in Bernt et.al., *The Berlin Reader*. The situation that I refer is related to the phenomenon of 'de-nationalizing of urban space' and the formation of new claims by transnational actors, which is described by Saskia Sassen, and linked to the issue of who has the right to shape the city, as stated by Lefebvre. Saskia Sassen, "The Global City: Introducing a Concept," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* XI, no. 2 (2005): 39; Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville* (Paris: Anthropos, 1968). See also: David Harvey, "The Right to the City," *New Left Review*, no. 53 (2008); Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York: Guilford Press, 2003); Mark Purcell, "Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant," *GeoJournal*, no. 58 (2002).

and therefore, this “chosen ‘vision’ represents and naturalizes the interests, lifestyle and ‘urban imaginary’ of a narrow segment of the population”.⁵⁶ Philo and Kearns also point out to this ‘manipulation of culture’, as they call it, indicating that many tensions and potential conflicts may arise from it, since many people may feel that the materials of the ‘place marketers’ are unfaithful or unwanted.⁵⁷ This way, we observe quite a distance between the image that the campaign promotes and the way that citizens perceive and live their city. The great variety and diversity of people and lifestyles existing or even competing in the city are presented harmonically side by side and without any conflict. In such a way, the campaign creates a one-dimensional representation of the city that positively denies any social tensions. A particular vision, representing the particular interests of a sector, is presented as a neutral one, valid for all the members of a society, and casts the behavior and the place in a certain order for everyone, and “specifies who is correct and who should be where”.⁵⁸ Furthermore, there are some sectors of the population, those who do not fit into this image, who are completely erased from the official city image.

The piece of advertising analyzed here is an example of how the local government spreads its representation of the city, enhancing a specific economic and social order. The images and ideas presented in the brochure attempt to mobilize all the cultural resources in hand to justify and reproduce such order. This city image praises financial power, the entertainment industry and bourgeois

⁵⁶ Claire Colomb, *Staging the New Berlin: Place Marketing and the Politics of Urban Reinvention Post-1989*, Planning, History, and Environment Series (London, New York: Routledge, 2011).

⁵⁷ Gerard Kearns and Chris Philo, eds., *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, Policy, Planning, and Critical Theory (Oxford [England], New York: Pergamon Press, 1993), 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

lifestyles. If the advertising succeeds in convincing that such city project offers advantages for everyone, then they would also achieve to gain acceptance for their model.

The elitist city order derived from the set of formulas recommended by Richard Florida that has served clearly as inspiration for the campaigners, has been widely criticized by many scholars due to the inequalities that it entails. Florida accepts that the so praised creative class described by him “depend on an army of service workers trapped in ‘low-end jobs’ that pay poorly because they are not creative jobs”, and has pointed out that “the most creative places tend also to exhibit the most extensive forms of socio-economic inequality”.⁵⁹ But in spite of all the polemics around Florida’s formulas, the Berlin government has adopted them enthusiastically, as we can confirm in a study made by the *Berlin Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung* (Berlin Institute for Population and Development), which states that Talent, Technology and Tolerance (the Florida’s three T’s) are all required for growth:

First, well-educated specialists, particularly in industries with bright futures such as information technology and engineering; second, a research environment with high-quality educational institutions and the capacity to transform knowledge into profitable inventions; and third, an openness and tolerance toward immigrants, minorities and individuals active in the arts. The fact is that the places where these people can create homes and feel accepted will be infused with a social climate in which the elite members of the creative economy feel comfortable. Wherever this elite lives, thinks and works, wealth and new jobs will be created, producing an environment that will attract creative people and motivate them to stay.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Quoted by Jamie Peck, “Struggling with the Creative Class,” *Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 4 (2005): 746.

⁶⁰ Kröhnert, et. al., “Talente”, 4.

This way, as Kearns and Philo have pointed out, the marketing of cities, far from producing an inclusive city image, boosts potential conflicts:

The marketers have assumed that the places being sold are the spaces of bourgeois culture, and in a way they are right: the problem arise because in the process the marketers also try to sell places that mean other things to the 'other peoples' of the city, who thereby resist the form that the selling takes (along with its primarily economic motivation).⁶¹

I examine the implications and consequences of this conflict further in chapter three.

1.5. Power and Representation: Role of Photographed Architecture in the Promotion of the City Image

Unlike the numerous publications which appeared during the 1990's promoting the image of the 'New Berlin' through remarkable pieces of architecture, the brochure does not represent buildings as landmarks, and it rather focuses on their forms to visually suggest ideas or features of the city described in the text. The picture displaying *Potsdamer Platz* in the section 'Business' for example, does not show the most popular image of the corporate towers side by side, or the spectacular glass cover of the Sony Center; instead, the producers of the brochure selected a less impressive close-up of the windows of the DB Tower in combination with a 'casual' element, the soap bubbles. The composition visually builds the idea that the text attempts to communicate. The same strategy is used in other pictures, like the photograph of the Philological Library that I mentioned before (Figure 33). In that picture, we find again a detail of the building, its grid-like roof, placed as a background pattern, suggesting a

⁶¹ Kearns and Philo, *Selling Places*, 18.

futuristic atmosphere, and combined with the image of a student reading on the foreground. In both pictures the meaning comes from the combination of the architectural forms and the motifs on the foreground.

Conversely, other pictures show architectural forms as main motif. See for example, the pictures of the Photonic Centre and *Leipziger Platz* (figure 33). The solid block of buildings shaping an octagon on *Leipziger Platz* symbolizes reconstruction and completeness, while the waving and colorful façade of the Photonic Centre suggests creativity. Both ideas are highlighted in different parts of the text, and are stressed by means of the pictures. Another picture showing the building of the ARD studio in Berlin *Mitte* (figure 33) presents a similar strategy. The picture shows a close-up of one of the upper corners of its façade, with spotlights illuminating the sky. The beam of light creates a numinous atmosphere, in accordance with the text:

Berliners call the panorama window built into the corner of the ARD studio in Berlin-Mitte “The Magic Eye”. From the Reichstagsufer on the banks of the Spree River, it focuses on the parliament district, symbol of the capital of political journalism. Over 1,000 correspondents from all over Germany and the globe report daily here from the center of German politics.⁶²

This way, the image was placed as a visual representation of the role of the city as an information center, comparable to a shining light spreading throughout the world. This emphasis on forms is also patent in the dialogue between the two pictures placed on opposite pages at the beginning of each section, which repeat a similar pattern: the glass curtain, the Berlin Wall or a concave grid (figure 34). This way, the strategy of the brochure of representing

⁶² Berlin Partner 2009, 8.

city's buildings by well-chosen details and forms, focuses on aesthetic features of architecture, which may be found in any country and any place.

This approach is not used in all the pictures of the brochure, other images show distinctive buildings, placed however in the background, as a secondary element, where something else happens. Many iconic buildings as *Hauptbahnhof*, the *Deutsches Historisches Museum*, and the *Berliner Dom*, appear not only as central motifs, but integrated to daily life and as part of the landscape (figure 35). At the same time, some other iconic buildings, like the Jewish Museum or the *Neues Museum*, do not fully appear fully in the brochure. Instead, we see pictures of its interior, highlighting their functionality as scenarios of cultural and artistic expressions (figure 36). This way, architecture is depicted as “a background stage for life”, as landscape, with its symbolical implications:

Landscape (...) is an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature.⁶³

By means of placing selected people and groups performing selected everyday practices in the city, the brochure sets a visual narrative, in correspondence to the social order envisioned and pursued by the producers, namely the local authorities and business leaders who are part of the Berlin Partner's board. This way, the pictures vindicate certain ways of habiting and using buildings, and specific spatial practices, mostly according with middle class lifestyles and consumption patterns.

⁶³ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998 [1984]), 15.

As David Harvey has stated, spatial practices are an instrument for reproduction of power relations:

Spatial practices in any society (...) are not innocent with respect to the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of class relations under capitalism; they are a permanent arena for social conflict and struggle. Those who have the power to command and produce space possess a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power.⁶⁴

This political use of space was also described by Henry Lefebvre, who described the instrumental role of space in the existing mode of production, thus it serves to establishing and reproducing the underlying logic of a system.⁶⁵ Space, argued Lefebvre, is social because it is in space where the representation of social relations of production, in the form of buildings, monuments and works of art, occurs.⁶⁶

My argument here is that this instrumental role attributed to the production of space can also be extended to the practice of representing space. This way, an adequate city image is not only developed in the physical milieu of the city, in buildings or urban plans, but also in visual materials, like the brochure analyzed here and in some other images created for the campaign. Every space in the city is a multi-coded space, since it is constantly appropriated (and also contested) through everyday practices of its users. Nevertheless the brochure shows spaces in the city from the point of view of a reduced elite of decision makers, and presents this vision as a public representation of the city. Specific social relations, spatial practices and social roles are naturalized, while conflicts, ambiguities and

⁶⁴ David Harvey, "Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization: Reflections on Post-Modernism in the American City," *Antipode* 19, no. 3 (1987): 265.

⁶⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 11.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 32–33.

alternative forms of living and using space are obscured. Resistance practices and counter discourses are absent.

In *The production of Space*, Henry Lefebvre draws attention to the representations of space created by theoreticians and architects, pointing out that such mental (conceived) spaces are constructed according to particular principles and conceptions, and therefore cut-up the complexity of directly experienced space (social space, lived space).⁶⁷ By these means “social space comes to be reduced to mental space”, through a procedure which can be regarded as ideology.⁶⁸ Mental space is a space of reductions, of force and repression, of manipulation and co-optation. It abolishes distinctions and differences, and therefore is instrumental, thus it has a homogenizing character.⁶⁹ This way, social space, the space lived and appropriated by users, “become indistinguishable from the space of planners, politicians and administrators” and the city itself is replaced by its representation.⁷⁰ We observe precisely this process in the case of the city marketing analyzed in this chapter.

The representation of space spread by the city campaign serves a political function, obscuring conflict, ambiguities, and other forms of perceiving and imagining the city. It authorizes itself as ‘true’ space, while reproducing the dominant power relations. Representational spaces, namely the lived space where resistance practices and counter discourses blooms, are not present in this representation of the city. It is like Lefebvre also observed: In the spatial practice of neocapitalism, representations of space facilitate the manipulation of

⁶⁷ Ibid., 104.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 106.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 354.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 300, 309.

representational spaces and representational space disappears into the representation of space, the latter swallows the former.⁷¹

Considering this, it is possible to affirm that the campaign *Be Berlin* is not only a marketing campaign addressed to investors and visitors, but it has an additional role, promoting a set of values and a specific city image among Berliners. In this sense, the city image advertised in the campaign operates as ideology, as described by Antonio Gramsci, and acquires a political dimension, additionally to its original economic purpose.⁷²

1.6. Reception of the Campaign: Advertising vs. Subvertising

It is not easy to describe the wide variety of reactions that an advertising campaign may elicit. There are many Berliners who participated enthusiastically in the different events that *Be Berlin* called to, as much as others who criticize the limited creativity of its motifs, or the large amount of money spent in city advertising. Since the interest of this work is related to images, in this section I focus on some visual answers to the campaign. For that purpose I have selected a set of counter-images that make use of the visual elements of the campaign, but disrupt its original meaning.

The practice of twisting the meaning of advertising images is a popular practice called 'subvertising' or 'ad bursting'. It consists on adding small visual or

⁷¹ Ibid., 59, 398.

⁷² "Hegemony does not involve controls which are clearly recognizable as constraints in the traditional coercive sense. Instead, hegemonic control involves a set of values which the majority is persuaded to adopt. So as to persuade the majority, these values are portrayed as 'natural' and 'common-sense'. This is 'ideological hegemony'. The most successful ruling group is that which attains power through ideological hegemony rather than coercion. When hegemonic control is successful, the social order endorsed by the elite is, at the same time, the social order the masses desire". Antonio Gramsci, *Letters from Prison* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

verbal spanners into the work of advertising with the purpose of spoofing, parodying and satirizing their meaning.⁷³ A subvert is a satirical version or the defacing of an existing advert, an inversion designed to make us forget consumerism and consider instead social or political issues.⁷⁴ Subvertising is considered a way of reclaiming the urban environment for counter-discourses associated with anti-corporate or anti-establishment perspectives, as well as a form of contestation against the concentration of media ownership, and a rejection to mass produced logos and slogans.⁷⁵ Though the practice of distorting the meaning of an image may be traced back to Marcel Duchamp's *L.H.O.O.Q.* (1919) or to the concept of *Détournement* of the Situationists, the so called 'Billboard Liberation Front', founded in San Francisco, California in 1977 is considered the direct precedent of subvertising as it is practiced nowadays.⁷⁶ The group was created on the idea that common citizens could and should employ their imagination for changing the messages of corporate advertising and use the billboards as a medium for public expression, protest and social communication.⁷⁷

The sample of images that I present in this section are some examples of pictures built from some elements of the advertising campaign *Be Berlin*, but distorted in such a way that they create ironic meanings. These images were taken from different websites and are organized in three groups, according to the

⁷³ Pete Bearder, "Word on the Street: Subvertising and Rewriting the Urban Visual Landscape with Street Art," in *Writing Urban Space: Exploring the Relationship between Imaginative Writing and the Built Environment*, ed. Liam M. Bell and Gavin Goodwin (Winchester, UK, Washington: Zero Books, 2012), 6–14.

⁷⁴ Alexander Barley, "Battle of the Image," *The New Statesman*, 05/21/2001, <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/140356>

⁷⁵ Bearder, "Word on the Street", 6.

⁷⁶ See Guy Debord and Gil J. Wolman, "A User's Guide to *Détournement*," in *Situationist International Anthology*, ed. Ken Knabb (Berkeley, Calif: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981), 14–20.

⁷⁷ Bearder, "Word on the Street", 8.

topic and to how radical they are in their critic. The first group includes slightly ironic pictures, while the pictures of the third group show harsh criticism and an open rejection to the campaign.

Figure 37 shows three images parodying the campaign in a moderate tone. The image on the left was taken from the blog *Stadtkind*, being it a picture of a billboard of the campaign.⁷⁸ The image on the billboard shows Ajescha Prozell, a young student, winner of the *Jugend Forsh Price* 2007, accompanied by her own words to describe Berlin: “*Sei Jung, sei forsch, sei Berlin*” (Be young, be bold, be Berlin). On the foot of the billboard we see a spontaneous graffiti that states: “*Sei du selbst*” (Be yourself). The added phrase takes distance of the alleged exemplary stories gathered by the campaigners and points out to the artificiality of such portraits. It seems that both the anonymous author of the graffiti and the photographer do not feel identified with the official image of the city and the way it represents its inhabitants.

The second image in this group (figure 37, center) was created by a young photographer called Lars von Core, and was uploaded to a commercial website called *mygall*, which offers online printing services.⁷⁹ On this picture we see one of the staircases of the extinct art house *Tacheles* in Berlin Mitte. A derisive slogan on the top of the photograph mocks the *Be Berlin* slogan stating: “*Bleib bunt, bleib Tacheles, bleib Berlin*” (Stay colorful, stay Tacheles, stay Berlin). The image may refer to the gradual extinction of many experimental projects that had flourished in abandoned buildings during the following years after reunification,

⁷⁸ Dominic Frohlof, “Adbusting: Sei du selbst, sei Tempelhof”, April 11, 2008, Stadtkind Blog. <http://stadtkind.com/kategorie/sei-berlin>

⁷⁹ Lars van Core, “Bleib bunt! bleib tacheles, bleib Berlin”, website of *Mygall*, accessed June 11, 2014, http://www.mygall.net/product_info.php?info=p369270_bleib-bunt--bleib-tacheles--bleib-berlin-.html

but that have been displaced by wealthier newcomers, as soon as the former marginal neighborhoods became trendy. The reference to the word 'bunt', which in German is a synonym of diversity, is an ironic commentary to the uniformity of the gentrified neighborhoods, in opposition to an alleged vitality and diversity of the alternative scene. The image suggests that spaces like *Tacheles* must have been preserved as key elements of the unique subcultural scene of the city. The slogan is also a wink to the typical motto that squatters use to protests against the menace of eviction (*Liebig 14 bleibt*, *Köpi bleibt*, *Schokoladen bleibt*, and so on). However, the critic intentionality of the image in regards to the campaign is not completely clear. It may also be a positive image intending to highlight what is representative of the city, in which case, it may be also an example of how the repetitive slogan has been etched into the imagery of people hence the creator found it natural to include it in his picture.

The third image in this group (figure 37, right) was taken from the blog of Harald Böttger, an amateur photographer, who took a shot of the entrance to the S-Bahn station *Warschauer Strasse* on a cloudy day.⁸⁰ The black and white image can be seen as an ironic inversion of tourism advertising. Instead of a popular sightseeing on a sunny day, the photograph shows an ordinary place, the entrance of a metro station, on a drizzly day. The second element on the picture, bad weather (as bad as the campaign itself, according to the blogger), is often considered by Berliners as one of the worst features of the city. This way, the picture is an ironic commentary to the beautiful ideal images promoted by the campaign. Though the blog entry starts rejecting the campaign, some lines above the blogger explains:

⁸⁰ "Sei Regen, sei Sturm, sei Berlin", Berlin Blog, accesed June 11, 2014, <http://wishbringer.twoday.net/stories/4783515/#comments>

Obwohl - wie ich zugeben muss - mir die Kampagne inzwischen aus fotografischer Sicht zu gefallen beginnt. Überall in der Stadt werden die Sprechblasen aufgestellt. In groß. Ich dachte erst, man würde da die Texte reinspannen, aber noch sind sie leer und bieten damit einen Rahmen, den man selbst füllen kann. Mal sehen was sich daraus machen lässt.⁸¹

This commentary may be an example of the campaign performing successfully, making the audience feel identified with a device that left a part of the message open to be fulfilled by the viewer.

More incisive than the former examples are the images of the second group (Figure 38). The first image (top left) shows a banner used by demonstrators against the *Mediaspree* project in July 2011.⁸² On the banner we see two speech balloons, one red and one green, containing opposite messages. The red speech balloon states: “*Sei hip, sei kreativ, sei verwertbar*” (Be hip, be creative, be exploitable), on the other side, the green speech balloon states: “*Sei selbstbestimmt, sei solidarisch, sei widerstand*” (Be autonomous, be caring, be resistor). The banner refers to the clichés promoted by the campaign: the speech balloon on the left side describes the successful and ‘cool’ young professionals, exactly the target of the campaign, while the one on the right side seems to be the counter statement. The idea of the banner is quite elementary, with the two speech balloons facing each other like a mirror, with different colors. It tries to counteract a cliché with another cliché, the cliché of the radical activist.

⁸¹ “Nevertheless – so I have to admit – in the meanwhile I start liking the campaign from the photographic point of view. All around the city speech balloons were placed. In large-scale. At first I thought that the text would be placed inside, but they are still empty and offer with it a frame that can be filled by everyone. We will see what can be done with it.” (My own translation).

⁸² The picture was taken from Flickr, but the account is not active anymore. Pictures of this same banner can be found at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/carloshi/3769984822/> and <http://tempelhof.blogspot.de/>

The second picture in this group (figure 38, bottom left) shows a sticker created by *Karla Pappel*, a citizens' initiative created in 2008 to work against rent increases and displacement.⁸³ The sticker is available to download on their website, as part of the printing material that they offer to supporters. The sticker is a simple black and white image, with the speech balloon of the *Be Berlin* campaign as main motif. It is filled with a three-sentence slogan that, instead of positive features of the city, contains ironic adjectives: "*Sei Neoliberal, sei Baugruppe, sei Gentrifizierer*" (Be Neoliberal, Be Construction Group, Be Gentrifier), and the logo of *Be Berlin* at the bottom.⁸⁴ Since the Karla Pappel initiative expresses opposition to the construction of owner-occupied flats, the sticker is a clear rejection to the housing policies of the city, deemed to be responsible for the displacement of low-income population. By using the elements of the campaign to express their criticism, they imply that the city vision of the government and its campaign is blatantly elitist and selective. "Nun werden Neukölln und Alt-Treptow von der grünen urbanen Elite entdeckt und zunehmend in Beschlag genommen", we read on their website.⁸⁵

The next picture (figure 38, top right) is a Postcard distributed by the *Initiative gegen Abschiebehaft* (Initiative against Displacement) and the *Flüchtlingsrat* Berlin (Refugee Council Berlin).⁸⁶ It shows the profile of a bearded man looking at a window, apparently in an immigration detention center. The red speech balloon of the *Be Berlin* campaign frames the picture, and the three-

⁸³ The original sticker is available at: <http://karlapappel.wordpress.com/archiv/downloads/> and some other pictures of the sticker pasted on some other buildings can be found at: http://blogs.taz.de/streetart/2009/11/07/be_berlin/

⁸⁴ A 'Baugruppe' or a 'Bauherrgemeinschaft' is a private building association.

⁸⁵ "Now are Neukölln and Alt-Treptow by the green urban elite discovered, and little by little hogged." (My own translation). "Karla Pappel", accessed June 13, 2014, <http://karlapappel.wordpress.com/about/>

⁸⁶ www.initiativegegenabschiebehaft.de; www.fluechtlingsrat-berlin.de

sentence slogan states: “*Sei unerwünscht, sei Abschiebeknast, bye bye, Berlin*” (Be undesired, be in deportation custody, bye bye Berlin). The postcard employs a similar strategy than the former image, expressing openly the dark sides of the city policies, with the same visual elements the government uses to promote the city image.

The last picture of this group (Figure 38, bottom right) was created by an amateur photograph called Manfred, and uploaded to ‘Chip Foto Video’ a website that hosts amateur photographs.⁸⁷ The image shows an abandoned trailer in a vacant plot, framed by the red speech balloon and accompanied by the slogan: “*Sei Harz IV (sic), sei ausgegrenzt, sei Berlin*” (Be Hartz IV, be excluded, be Berlin).⁸⁸ Just like in the former images, this picture attempts to gain visibility for those absent in the city advertising, the beneficiaries of social care, while criticizing the shortage of social housing and the poor social policies of the city.

In figure 39 we see a third set of images, which present a more radical approach, referring to the rebellious character of the leftist political scene in Berlin. These images show different scenes of street riots framed by the red speech balloon or accompanied by the *Be Berlin* logo. They also show mocking slogans like: “*Sei rebellisch, sei 1. May, sei Berlin*” (Be rebellious, be May Day, be Berlin);⁸⁹ “*Sei Feuer, sei Flamme, sei Berlin*” (Be fire, be flames, be Berlin);⁹⁰

⁸⁷ ‘Galerie-Be Berlin Werbung’, accessed June 13, 2014, http://galerie.chip.de/k/digiart-collagen/composing/be_berlin_werbung/361165/

⁸⁸ *Hartz IV* is the name of the reform that unified unemployment and welfare benefits in Germany. It entered into force in 2005 and is named after Peter Hartz, leader of the committee in charge of designed it. It is common for many Germans to refer to the long-term unemployment benefits as *Hartz IV* and the word has become a synonym of non-working poor people.

⁸⁹ “Be.streik.berlin-bemayday”, Website Indymedia Germany, April 9, 2008, <http://de.indymedia.org/2008/04/212876.shtml>

⁹⁰ “Be doof, be Berlin!”, Blog Pantoffelpunk, July 8, 2008, <http://blog.pantoffelpunk.de/zermatschtes/be-doof-be-berlin>

or “Be fire, be flames, burn Bundeswehr-lkv” (Federal Armed Forces-HGV).⁹¹ Such satirical slogans refer to two aspects of the city which obviously would never appear in advertising: Firstly, the annual “Revolutionary Demonstration” of May the 1st, that since 1987 has often ended in riots and violent clashes with the police, has acquired such relevance, that there are even tour companies who offer “revolutionary tours” to the most important sites of the May Day riots.⁹² Secondly, the images refer to a series of arson attacks against luxury cars registered in Berlin during the recent years, considered by the police as political statements of radical leftists. The phenomenon has spread to such an extent that became a central topic of the election campaigns of 2011 and even the Federal Chancellor expressed her concerns about the events.⁹³

The images that I described in this section are examples of reactions that the campaign has produced in some Berliners that see the city advertising campaign with skepticism. They are also graphic statements created by city inhabitants who do not feel represented in the city image promoted by *Berlin*

⁹¹ Bernd Kudanek, “Bleibt der 142fache Mord in Kundus/Afghanistan ungesühnt?”, Blog Carookee, January 16, 2010, <http://www.carookee.net/forum/freies-politikforum/2/27914984;0;30115?p=2>

⁹² Wiebke Hollersen, “May Day Tourism in Berlin: Anti-Capitalist Tour Guide Offers Riot Sightseeing,” *Spiegel Online*, April 30, 2010 The website of the tours is <http://revolutionaryberlin.wordpress.com>

⁹³ The main targets of these attacks have been luxurious autos like Mercedes and BMW, and the police reported notes with anti-gentrification messages left behind by the arsonists on the crime scenes. The incidents occurred mainly in districts where a vital leftist scene exists, like *Kreuzberg* and *Friedrichshain*; though they have rapidly spread also to more affluent western districts. Vehicles of DHL or the Deutsche Bahn have been also set on fire, because of the connection of these companies with the army or the transportation of nuclear waste. Economic tensions, unemployment, rising rents and displacement have been considered as the main cause of social unrest behind the attacks. See: Helen Pidd, “Berlin's Burning Cars a Hot Topic in Forthcoming Elections,” *The Guardian*, August 26, 2011; Vanessa Fuhrmans, “Berlin Authorities Struggle to Stop Car Burning Surge,” *The Wall Street Journal*, August 20, 2011; David Dagan, “In Berlin, Cars Burn as Neighborhoods Change,” *The Huffington Post*, April 23, 2010; *Spiegel Online*, “Blaming Berlin's Mayor: Police Union Chief Predicts 'Renaissance of Left-Wing Terror',” July 28, 2009.

Partner. They constitute an attempt to express criticism by means of the same elements used by the authorities to create and spread the official city image.

1.7. Conclusions

The city image represented in the campaign *Be Berlin* describes a city suitable to make business, equipped with the adequate infrastructure and services (transport, educational institutions), and an attractive offer of leisure and culture activities (restaurants, nightclubs, art, entertainment), fitting with the lifestyle of a sector of high-income professionals. The image promoted in the brochure corresponds to the urban vision driven by the local government, who has fostered emblematic ambitious projects like *Mediaspree*, *Hauptbahnhof* and the BBI Airport. These urban projects have been used as symbols of economic development; while historical buildings and public art are shown as additional features to highlight the uniqueness of the city. The city image promoted by the government is based on the assumption that investment is a premise for development at all levels of society, since it can increase employment, and therefore brings benefits for everyone. Nevertheless, the privileged position enjoyed by investors has often derived in a great discomfort and unrest in a few sectors of the population, who consider that certain urban projects operate in detriment of their interests, either because of an inadequate representation of the collective memory (for example in the case of the *Berliner Schloss* or the luxury residences close to the East Side Gallery) or because they develop a poor concept of public space (The *Mediaspree* Project), just to mention some examples.

The images of the brochure analyzed in this chapter show simultaneously features and ideas that are often opposite, like change and stability, subcultures and mainstream, past and future, integrated in a harmonic image in which “everything works”. The myth of the ever changing city, consolidated during the division and in the immediate years after the fall of the Wall, continue to be nurtured in spite that, after twenty-five years, the most intense part of the process of reconstruction is already done. The social and political meaning of the subcultures that blossomed around the once marginal areas along the Wall, were neutralized and sanitized, and some of their practices are now shown as part of the mainstream. Similarly, the still existing polarization between East and West are hidden behind an optimistic discourse that takes the fall of the Wall as sufficient condition for the reintegration of both sides of the city. Fractures in the local history are also neutralized and shown as fragments that exist one besides the other, out of any contradiction.

The brochure also underlines tolerance and pluralism as characteristic features of the city, but its images show a very limited conception of what an inclusive society is. A wide diversity of lifestyles, for example, is considered as desirable, as far as they are not the lifestyles of the poor or uneducated. It claims that Berlin is a plural city, but the pictures do not show the plurality of existing lifestyles. The brochure shows an idealized image of a prosperous city inhabited by young, well-educated and creative professionals, who enjoy the rich cultural offer and the intense night life. The unemployed, poor immigrants, or even the Berlin working class, are never shown.

It is not strange that an advertising campaign shows only the most desirable features of a city. Social problems, as inequality or unemployment,

should not be discussed in this arena. But it is also true that the city-image described in the brochure, represents the vision of the city that the government pursues, and therefore, it is also problematic that such image shows so many traces of elitism and exclusion.

At the same time, it is not trivial that the producers of the campaign designed it, thinking of Berliners as one of their targeted groups. If the campaign is meant to be a way to inspire a sense of belonging and identification with the city, it would be desirable that such image was more plural and open to different points of view, and not only preoccupied with fulfilling the necessities of business and high-income population. A one-dimensional vision that suppresses alternative points of view cannot result in a rich city concept. If the contradictions are hidden, they are not discussed and there is less chance than alternatives for its solution to come up. The idyllic self-representation of the city in the *Be Berlin* campaign does not leave room for imagining others futures, other cities, others possibilities.

2. The City of Berlin seen by the Tourism Industry: A Collection of Postcards

Continuing with the analysis of the imagery of the city of Berlin, I describe in this chapter the city image produced in the field of tourism, particularly in postcards sold in souvenir shops. Recognized as “the most widely disseminated tourist icon”,⁹⁴ the postcard can be an important image creator and as such, has a great influence that deserves a further analysis as means of dissemination of ideas, beliefs and myths.

2.1. Criteria for the Selection of Materials

The material selected to be analyzed in this chapter consists of a group of fifty postcards that I collected randomly during 2010 and 2011 in souvenir shops located in the most touristic areas of the city, such as *Unter den Linden*, *Potsdamer Platz* and the districts of *Kreuzberg*, *Prenzlauer Berg*, *Mitte* and *Friedrichshain*. Following the method described by Martin Marshall and also used by Christin Mamiya, I did a judgment sampling, selecting those images that seemed prone to answering the research questions.⁹⁵ The following criteria was considered: 1. Including at least one example of the most recurrent motifs, 2. To prefer those postcards that depict some piece of architecture or landmarks as main motif, particularly those built or reconstructed after reunification, 3. Including

⁹⁴ Marion Markwick, “Postcards from Malta. Image, Consumption, Context,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, no. 2 (2001): 417.

⁹⁵ Martin N. Marshall, “Sampling for Qualitative Research,” *Family Practice* 13, no. 6 (1996): 523; Christin J. Mamiya, “Greetings from Paradise: The Representation of Hawaiian Culture in Postcards,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 16, no. 86 (1992): 161.

rare or atypical postcards whose motifs were interesting to the topic to be analyzed.

Due to the great quantity of material available and the intention of including examples found in different areas of the city, I selected the postcards randomly, picking up those postcards that I would buy myself during a trip. I sorted the selected postcards according to the main motif they depict, making a collective of nine different groups: Government District; Modern Berlin; History and Memory; The East Side and *Mediaspree* Area; Shopping, Eating and Leisure; Berlin Then & Now; 'Alternative' Berlin; GDR Postcards; and Postcards of the Berlin Wall.

2.2. The Producers

The selected postcards are designed and printed by a variety of publishers, ranging from big publishing houses that also publish books, to printing offices dedicated to produce souvenirs and greeting cards, as well as private photographers living in Berlin who print their own pictures. A great portion of the photographs used in postcards were taken by photo journalists with a long experience in photographing Berlin and its architecture, and who have also illustrated photo books and travel guides. Many of them have their own websites with their portfolios and some others are founders of their own photo agencies or publishing houses. Here is a short profile of some of them:

Günter Schneider. He is a German photographer that has documented architecture in Berlin and has illustrated dozens of publications, like city guides or architecture books of the New Berlin.⁹⁶

Peter Stiebig. He is a photojournalist that has documented the historical development of the Berlin Wall for several years. As one of the founders of the Photo agency ZENIT, his pictures have been published in *Der Stern*, *Der Spiegel*, *TAZ*, as well as in several exhibitions.⁹⁷

Wolfgang Skowronski. He is a professional photographer who founded the Skowronski Publishing House in 1977.⁹⁸

Jürgen Henkelmann. He is a professional photographer devoted to photograph Berlin and its architecture. His photos have illustrated several books and guides.

AKG (Archive für Kunst und Geschichte/ Archive for Art and History). It is one of the biggest European picture archives.

2.3. Postcards and Tourism Industry: Some Considerations

Albers & James assert that the picture postcard is the most widely distributed and easily accessible souvenir at almost any tourist destination.⁹⁹ Under this assumption, it is plausible to consider that postcards are not only subjective representations of the city, but some kind of mirror of the imaginary that interweaves in the field of tourism, thus the editors tend to publish those images that they know are the most appealing for visitors. Postcard imagery reflects trends in the market which are largely responsive to consumer demands,

⁹⁶ http://www.guenterschneider.de/index_x.php

⁹⁷ <http://www.bildwerk3.de/2012/11/01/hans-peter-stiebing-berliner-mauer/>

⁹⁸ http://www.skoko.de/seite_Verlag.html

⁹⁹ Patricia Albers C. and William R. James, "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988): 139.

as much as the photographers' perceptions of the type of images tourists want to buy.¹⁰⁰

The importance of postcards as visual documents of the experience of tourism has a double dimension. On one hand, postcards suggest to visitors the places that are worth to visit, and in this sense, they model the experience of the trip. On the other hand, they constitute the image of the city that visitors will take to their homes or will send to family and friends have them witness their experiences, and in this sense are greatly significant in shaping the memories of the trip.¹⁰¹

Images depicted in postcards have a large and visible presence. According to a survey conducted in Germany in 2007 by the Marplan Institute, 53% of the respondents sent picture postcards from their recent vacation to relatives or friends.¹⁰² This tendency is confirmed by the research conducted by Yüksel and Akgül in Turkey, who found that about 50% of their respondents (tourist from different nationalities) sent postcards from their last holiday destination.¹⁰³ This importance increases even more if we consider the impact of postcards in those who pry in souvenir shops and every person that will look the image, from the post office until it reaches friends and family of the recipient. According to Mamiya, the pervasiveness of the postcards due to its public nature (e.g., the lack of an envelope) makes the postcard “a powerful medium to construct public perception and to encode specific values, which cannot be

¹⁰⁰ Markwick, "Postcards", 419; Martin Mellinger, "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994): 759.

¹⁰¹ Albers and James, "Travel Photography", 136.

¹⁰² *Südkurier*, "Postkarte schlägt SMS," September 25, 2007.

¹⁰³ Atila Yüksel and Olcay Akgül, "Postcards as Affective Image Makers: An Idle Agent in Destination Marketing," *Tourism Management* 28 (2007): 720.

understated".¹⁰⁴ Additionally, many tourists buy postcards as souvenirs. The postcard becomes a personal memento of the sights encountered on a vacation, and as such, it will constitute a predominant image to remember the place.¹⁰⁵

Many scholars agree on describing the relationship established between tourists and photography as a process that has been called 'Hermeneutic Circle'. It starts with the images that the tourist sees in brochures, advertisement, guidebooks, postcards, and so on. When travelling, the tourist will try to find the place and to capture in pictures of his/her own, comparing the known picture with its original setting and its relation with the real spot. It is also often that tourists emulate in their own pictures the images that they saw beforehand. This way, visual materials as postcards, indicate tourists what to see and how, in terms of where and when to sightsee, and how to 'capture' a particular site.¹⁰⁶ Considering this, the importance of postcards in the creation of discourses of place is undeniable. They are "a rich cultural reservoir of popular perceptions of peoples and places".¹⁰⁷

Postcards are also a way of appropriating a place. A visited public place becomes 'private' when the tourist buys its image and inscribes his hand-writing on the back. He or she can keep it for his or her own remembrance or simply give it away as a gift.¹⁰⁸ But the realm postcards impact is not only limit to the tourist industry as we will see in the next section.

¹⁰⁴ Mamiya, "Greetings", 86.

¹⁰⁵ Albers and James, "Travel Photography", 138–39.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 136; John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, Theory, Culture & Society (London, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1990), 129; Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Rosetta, 2005), 6–7.

¹⁰⁷ Annette Pritchard and Nigel Morgan, "Mythic Geographies of Representation and Identity: Contemporary Postcards of Wales," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 1, no. 2 (2003): 111.

¹⁰⁸ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1993), 137–38.

2.4. Postcards as Visual Representations of Cities

As I discussed in the last section, postcards reflect popular perceptions of a place and are an important instrument to create discourses of place. Pritchard and Morgan argue that postcards are sensitive to the narratives of the context where they are produced, and as such, they are an expression of the popular culture of the time.¹⁰⁹ In many of the examples that I analyze in this chapter we will see reflected beliefs, ideas and myths that accompanied the public perception of the city. Postcards, as well as any photograph, are not neutral depictions of a place; on the contrary, they contain a discourse of its own and a specific interpretation of the urban phenomena and are a central element in the imaginary around the reunified city.

In many of the images of this chapter we will see the pieces with which the idea of the 'New Berlin' was built. Furthermore, it is important to remember that a great portion of the tourism that travel to Berlin (more than a half) are domestic visitors, namely Germans who will be influenced by such images in their construction of identity and nationhood.

2.5. Tourism in Berlin: Some Numbers

According to a report of *Berlin Tourismus & Kongress*, tourism is the number one economic activity in the city, generating about ten billion Euros in 2011 and giving work to 275,500 Berliners.¹¹⁰ This number reflects a growth pattern that has situated Berlin as the third most touristic city in Europe, only after

¹⁰⁹ Pritchard and Morgan, "Mythic Geographies", 118.

¹¹⁰ Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, "Wirtschaftsfaktor für Berlin: Tourismus und Kongressindustrie," accessed October 12, 2014.
http://press.visitberlin.de/sites/default/files/wirtschaftsfaktor_2012_0.pdf

London and Paris, with an amount of eleven million visitors in 2013. Comparing this number with the three million visitors that the city received twenty years ago (1993), the growth is astounding and remarkable.

According to the same report, 58% of the visitors are national tourists, while 41% are foreigners, mostly Europeans (31% coming from England, Italy, Netherlands and Spain), and there is also a 10% of overseas visitors, mainly from USA, Israel, Australia, Japan, Canada and China. 42% of the visitors are younger than forty years old and, among the reasons to select the city as a destination they mentioned: its sights (81%) its history (79%), its atmosphere and flair (76%), its culture offer (74%) and its architecture (60%). About 80% of the visitors spend their time visiting restaurants, shops, sights and coffee shops; though a great portion of visitors also travel motivated by night life (35%), museums (38%), monuments, congresses and concerts. A great portion of the visitors spend only one day in the city (72%), but almost 50% of them return at least one time. The document specifies that low prices tickets and affordable accommodation are the most important facts that contributed to the growth of tourism in Berlin.

2.6. Main Topics

Classified in nine different groups according to their themes, I proceed to describe in this section the set of postcards that I selected and to analyze the ideas and assumptions that they content.

2.6.1. The Government District

The construction of the *Regierungsviertel* (Government District) was, along with *Potsdamer Platz*, one of the key projects in the shaping of the new urban face of Berlin after Reunification. Figure 40 shows two postcards depicting the two most popular buildings of this project: the German Chancellery and the *Reichstag*. The photograph of the Chancellery shows a front view of its main façade by night, shot from a low angle that makes it seem monumental and symmetric. The sobriety of the building is highlighted by the soft illumination and the absence of people. It is depicted as a piece of architecture, but also as a symbol of power. The cupola of the *Reichstag*, in contrast, is represented as a tourist attraction with plenty of visitors walking across its spiral ramps. However, the symbolical dimension of the transited cupola, makes of the people that we see, more than simple visitors, they are *das Volk*, to whom the building is dedicated, and those who are supposed to be over the authority of the parliamentarians that session in the chamber located below them.¹¹¹ Comparing both pictures we see a contrast between the solemnity and solitariness of the chancellery and the crowded *Reichstag*. One building is inaccessible, while the other is open to everyone. In both cases the main motif is power expressed by means of architecture.

¹¹¹ About the symbolical meaning of the new cupola see: Horst Bredekamp, "Die Reichstagskuppel. Symbol der Demokratie wider Willen," in *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder: Bildatlas 1949 bis heute*, ed. Gerhard Paul (Göttingen, Niedersachs: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 671–77; Tilmann Buddensieg, ed., *Berliner Labyrinth: Preussische Raster; vom Lustgarten zum Alexanderplatz, vom Reichstag ins Reichssportfeld, von Moabit nach Britz, vom Kemperplatz zum Waldsänerpfad, "Ich sehe keinen Ausweg aus diesem Labyrinth"* (Schinkel, 1829), Kleine Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek 43 (Berlin: K. Wagenbach, 1994).

2.6.2. Modern Berlin

Figure 41 shows four postcards representing the modern metropolis that Berlin became after reunification. The buildings photographed in the postcards are part of the two main projects that nowadays symbolize the new face of the modern Berlin: *Potsdamer Platz* and *Hauptbahnhof*. In the first postcard (top left) we see the integration of the new skyscrapers in *Potsdamer Platz* (*Deutsche-Bahn* Tower and Kollhoff Tower) with an iconic building from the time of the GDR, the Television Tower. The combination of high buildings, constructed in different times of the city history in one harmonic cityscape suggests the success of the reconstruction of the broken landscape, formerly fragmented by the harsh episodes of the turbulent history of the city. The height of the buildings and the signature names (DB and Hyatt) act as symbols of economic power and the victory of the market economy over communism.

The postcard on the top right, by its side, shows the interior of the Sony Center, designed by Helmut Jahn, and located in the heart of *Potsdamer Platz*. The profusion of lights and the panoramic effect of the shot make the complex appear as a vibrant city in miniature, resembling the crowded streets of any modern metropolis like Tokyo or New York. The same combination of glass and lights, used to suggest modernity is employed in the postcard of *Hauptbahnhof* (bottom left), in which the modern train station appears beautifully lightened on the day of its inauguration. This way, this postcard combines two fundamental elements in the construction of the new image of the capital city: impressive architecture and spectacular events. Both features attract millions of tourist to the city every year. The last postcard (bottom right) shows an aerial view of *Potsdamer Platz*, highlighting the built density of the area, in the fashion of a New

York landscape. These four pictures intend to show the most modern face of the city, and place it side by side with other modern metropolis in the world.

2.6.3. History and Memory

One of the features that attract a great deal of interest from visitors that choose Berlin as travel destination is its recent history. That is why historical buildings and monuments are one of the most depicted motifs in postcards. Figures 42 and 43 show some of these landmarks. The two postcards at the top of figure 42 show the Holocaust Memorial. At the left we see an aerial view of the memorial, which resembles a petrified sea shaped by immense waves of concrete blocks, while the high buildings of the nearby *Potsdamer Platz* at the background complete the stamp. The image on the right, by its part, is a close-up of the memorial that focuses in a section of slabs, filling the entire picture. In the foreground we see a group of three tourists posing and taking pictures. The memorial is depicted as a tourist attraction, used by many tourists as a playful scenario to take a shot. This representation is quite far from the “place of contemplation” that architect Peter Eisenman projected the memorial would be:

The enormity of the banal is the context of our monument. The project manifests the instability inherent in what seems to be a system, here a rational grid, and its potential for dissolution in time. It suggests that when a supposedly rational and ordered system grows too large and out of proportion to its intended purpose, it in fact loses touch with human reason. It then begins to reveal the innate disturbances and potential for chaos in all systems of seeming order, the idea that all closed systems of a closed order are bound to fail (...) A perceptual and conceptual divergence between the topography of the ground and the top plane of the stelae is thus created. This divergence denotes a difference in time, between what Henri Bergson called chronological, narrative time and

time as duration. The monument's registration of this difference makes for a place of loss and contemplation, elements of memory.¹¹²

The way the monument is represented in the postcards deprives it of all its original meaning, confirming the opinion of Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm about the incapability of the memorial to resist being absorbed “into a memory-free culture of monuments and apologies”.¹¹³ This way, the integration of the Memorial to the nearby *Potsdamer Platz* that the first postcard shows, evidences how the memorial has been integrated to the “tourism machinery of Potsdamer Platz”, as Hoffmann-Axthelm calls it: “A world metropolis wants its own holocaust monument and its World Trade Center. They promote each other”.¹¹⁴ In this respect, the aim of Eisenman’s design of “manifesting the instability of the system” derives in exactly the opposite. It is assimilated to a city image that has a place for everything, as if the logic of business, power and media image that *Potsdamer Platz* incarnate had nothing to do with the human tragedy that the memorial commemorates.¹¹⁵

The two postcards at the bottom of figure 42 show places devoted to the memory of murdered Jews too. The image on the left shows an aerial view of the Jewish Museum, focusing on the distinctive form of its plant, and therefore, on its architectonic quality. The postcard on the right, depicts the cupola of the New Synagogue in *Oranienburger Strasse*. The photograph focuses on the beautiful

¹¹² Peter Eisenmann, “Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin: Project Text,” *Frontline*, May 31, 2005.

¹¹³ Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, “Psychogeographie III/Leipziger Platz: Von der Topographie des Terrors zum Potsdamer Platz.,” in *Masse und Macht: Musik Misbrauch und Psychogeographie. Die Wunderbare Musikwelt des Dirigenten, Komponisten und Produzenten Christian von Borries*, ed. Sabine Sanio.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Here I am obviously referring to one of the arguments of Adorno & Horkheimer’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2002).

cupola, highlighting architecture again, and indirectly the cultural heritage of Jews. The picture does not show that the building is partially destroyed; so the historical dimension of the building is hidden. The synagogue is rather depicted as a tourist attraction, with its cupola, a landmark visible from many points of the historical center, as main motif.

Figure 43 shows four postcards related to other historical events. On the top left we see an aerial view of the Olympic Stadium, one of the few still-standing buildings from the time of the National Socialism. Built between 1934 and 1936, the stadium was an important architectonic piece of State propaganda during the Olympics 1936. Barely damaged during World War II, the stadium was renovated for the 2006 FIFA World Cup. The renovation works did not change the original appearance of the building in an important way, except for specific features, not recognizable from the outside, like the roof, the VIP boxes, the restaurants and the underground parking.¹¹⁶ The photograph, taken from air, highlights the modern aspect of the new roof as main motif, representing the stadium as the venue for an international sport event (the FIFA World Cup), instead of representing it as a historical building.

The next postcard (figure 43, bottom left) depicts the Brandenburg Gate, the most popular tourist attraction in Berlin according to the *Deutscher Tourismusverband*.¹¹⁷ Though the building has an historical background of more than 200 years, it is mostly linked with the recent history of the city and considered as a symbol of reunification. The postcard depicts the gate as an impressive piece

¹¹⁶ Ray Furlong, "New Future for Nazi Stadium," *BBC News*, July 31, 2004.

¹¹⁷ "Top 15-Sehenswürdigkeiten in Deutschland", website meinestadt.de, accessed June 18, 2014, <http://tourismus.meinestadt.de/deutschland/top10>

of architecture and as a monument. The play of dramatic colors and lights in both the sky and the gate makes it imposing.

The motifs of the two left postcards (figure 43, center and right) are two emblematic landmarks from the time of the Cold War. At the center we see the *Weltzeit Uhr* (World-time clock) in Alexanderplatz, the most popular square in East Berlin, with the television tower on background. The clock is photographed in the foreground, filling almost all the surface of the image, with no people around. Only the blurring silhouette of the bypassing yellow tramway on the right side is set up into a sort of dialogue with the orbits on the top of the clock, emphasizing the idea of movement. At the far right, another postcard shows an aerial view of the *Breitscheidplatz*, the western counterpart of Alex, close to *Kurfürstendamm*. Though the main motif of the picture, according to its title, is the *Gedächtniskirche* (Memorial Church), the photograph shows the historic building surrounded by many other adjacent buildings, like the *Europa Center*, with its characteristic Mercedes Benz-star. This picture, in opposition to the others, shows the historical monument in its urban context and not as the only and main motif of the picture. It may obey to the desire of depicting the entire area, as one of the most popular spots of West Berlin during the division of the city.

The historic sites of the city are mainly presented in postcards as isolated buildings, depicted as architectonic objects or monuments separated of their urban context, and most of them are linked to the recent history of the city. Even in those cases when the postcard shows older monuments, like the *Brandenburger Tor* or the *Gedächtniskirche*, they are mostly recognized for its remembrances of Cold War and the divided city. Finally, all the depicted landmarks are, as Anthony Smith has called them, 'sacred centers of historical

pilgrimage' that supposed to reveal the uniqueness of a nation, and as such, are a 'must' on the checklist of every visitor.¹¹⁸

2.6.4. The East Side and Mediaspree Areas

Figure 44 shows three postcards depicting views of the Spree riverfront on the East Side of the city, where the so called *Mediaspree* project has been developed. The postcard on the top left shows a portion of the river, with the *Oberbaumbrücke* in the background, flanked by the new headquarters of Universal Music (left) and the Allianz tower (right). Though the bridge was built in the frame of the Great Industrial Exposition of 1896 in Berlin-Treptow, it was renovated after reunification (by the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava), and quickly became a popular landmark linked to both the division and reunification of the city. This meaning derives from the fact that, during the division of the city, the traffic of the bridge was interrupted, staying closed during several years, till it was turned into a pedestrian checkpoint only for West Berlin residents.¹¹⁹ This way the postcard combines the historical symbolism of the bridge, with the attractiveness of the river front and the modern buildings of the blooming Media quarter.

The next postcard (figure 44, bottom left) shows another popular attraction of the *Mediaspree* area, the *Arena Badeschiff*, a swimming pool immersed in the waters of the river that is part of *Arena Berlin*, a popular venue for concerts and

¹¹⁸ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 16.

¹¹⁹ Frank P. Hesse, "Die Spree zwischen Treptow, Kreuzberg und Friedrichshain.: Stadtraum und Denkmale im Wandel. Lecture Presented During the 18. Berliner Denkmaltag «Stadträume, Wasserräume, Denkmalräume»,” *kunsttexte.de*, no. 4 (2004): 3–4.

events built in a former hall for buses, which started as an interim project.¹²⁰ The postcard shows an aerial view of the pool, highlighting the striking contrast between the blue water of the crowded pool and the dark water of the river surrounding it.

Finally, the postcard on the right side shows the sculpture *Molecule Men* of the American artist Jonathan Borowsky, located in the same area and consisting in three colossal human figures representing the three boroughs which converge in the spot where it is placed (*Friedrichshain, Kreuzberg and Treptow*). In the background we see the *Oberbaumbrücke* (right) and the offices of MTV and Universal, as well as the illuminated silhouette of the Television Tower (left). The group of buildings integrates an appealing cityscape that mixes historic buildings, a modern urban development and public art.

The three postcards described in this section depict the blooming area of the Spree River revitalized as part of the *Mediaspree* project. The views of the bridge and the river side provide historical scenery, while the *Molecule Man* and the swimming pool are symbols of a new image of the city linked to the creative industries and the lifestyle of young professionals employed in that economic sector. As we observe, the images in these postcards and the pictures created for the city advertising analyzed in chapter one share a similar approach in the depicted motifs and lifestyles.

¹²⁰ Jürgen Haspel, "Gender Mainstreaming, Zwischennutzung und Denkmalpflege," in *Gender auf dem Weg in den Mainstream der Stadtentwicklung. Berlin auf dem Weg zu einer lebenswerten Metropole für Frauen und Männer*, ed. Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin (Berlin: Beirat für frauenspezifische Belange der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2006), 39–41, 40. The website of Arena Berlin is found at: <http://www.arena-berlin.de>

2.6.5. Shopping, Eating and Leisure

Figure 45 shows some postcards of spots in the city for shopping and leisure. On the left side we see a postcard of the shopping center Quartier 206, in *Friedrichstrasse*. This building is part of an ambitious project from the 1990s called *Friedrichstadt Passagen*, an ensemble of three mall-like buildings integrated by the Quartier 205 (designed for the French department store Galeries Lafayette), Quartier 206 and Quartier 207 (Designed by O.M. Ungers).¹²¹ The postcard shows the luxurious atrium of the shopping center, which recalls the splendor of the 19th century shopping centers, with its geometric pattern on the floor, the piano bar, and the curved staircase. The postcard offers the illusion of a luxurious ‘shopping experience’, combined with the plus of ‘good taste’, architecture and culture, in a location that was intended to be the main shopping boulevard of the New Berlin.

On the top right of figure 45 we see a postcard that combines different shots of popular spots in the *Kollwitzkiez* in Berlin-*Prenzlauer Berg*. The postcard combines views of street cafes and restaurants with small shops, outside terraces and balconies. We also see the weekly eco-market, a playground and two popular historical spots: the *Kulturbrauerei*, a 19th century brewery transformed in cultural center, and the Water tower, a landmark of the *Kollwitzkiez* and the oldest water tower in the city. The German word *Kiez*, has a meaning close to ‘neighborhood’,

¹²¹ The galleries of each building resemble the shape of one of the three main squares of the *Friedrichstadt* and refers to an aspect of Berlin city life: the atrium of block 207 have the square shape of *Pariser Platz* and represents commerce, with its shops; the octagonal atrium of block 206 represents *Leipziger Platz* and is dedicated to culture, with its piano bar and café; and the circle shape of *Belle-Alliance-Platz* is shaped in block 205, representing gastronomy, with a large gourmet grocery and restaurant area. Oswald M. Ungers, *Bauten und Projekte 1991-1998* (Stuttgart: Dt. Verl.-Anst., 1998), 253–54.

but with a stronger communitarian sense, thus normally inhabitants identify with the *Kiez* they live in. On the other hand, *Prenzlauer Berg*, and specifically the area around the *Kollwitzkiez*, is a trendy neighborhood, preferred by young families and also frequented by tourists, which offers a wide variety of restaurants, shops and night clubs. This way, the postcard offers a glimpse to the everyday life in a fashionable neighborhood, selling to the visitor the feeling of accessing to the local everyday life. The lifestyle depicted in the postcard combines a variety of appealing features like tradition, represented by the historical buildings; a family-friendly atmosphere, represented by the playground; lively streets full of restaurants and cafes; and an upper-class consumption pattern represented by restaurants, the *Kulturbrauerei*, and the eco-market.

On the bottom right of figure 45 by its part, we see a postcard of the *Hackesche Höfe*, a complex of buildings interconnected by courtyards in a former handworker's district in *Mitte*, and a very popular tourist attraction. The postcard shows the first courtyard of the complex, with its beautiful *Jugendstil* façade and the crowded outside terraces of the restaurants. This photograph offers the same combination of elements than the rest of the postcards in this figure: leisure activities linked to consumption, garnished with touches of history, culture and 'good taste'; the ideal combination that many tourists look for on their trips.

These photographs are also appealing because they depict a desirable lifestyle that the visitors can feel part of, by visiting the places, eating or shopping in their restaurants, and then bringing the image of it back to home. The lifestyle represented in these pictures is very similar to the one promoted by the *Be Berlin* campaign and is, apparently, the one that fits the best to the image and social structure of the 'New Berlin'. At the same time, the quotidian images of these

postcards reflect what Marwick has called “the tourist’s desire for the authentic”. It means that, as souvenirs, postcards like the ones presented here convey a sense of intimacy by offering a glimpse to the everyday life of the inhabitants of the visited city, even if it is only by means of consuming its image.¹²² According with *Berlin Tourismus & Kongress*, people who visit Berlin are “fascinated” with the way of life of Berliners, and they are looking forward to experience it. The top activities for visitors, they say, (going to restaurants, coffee shops and bars, and window shopping) are oriented to get closer to it.¹²³

Figure 46 shows another set of postcards of places linked to leisure and entertainment. The image on the top left shows the backyard of art house *Tacheles*, founded in a squatted building in the 1990’s, which became a very popular tourist attraction until its eviction in 2012. In the background we see the building where the art house was located, a ruin of an old department center built at the beginning of 20th century. There are several elements in the postcard associated to the alternative scene of the city and to squats: a large wall covered by graffiti, improvised pieces of sculpture made with waste materials, the ruin of a dilapidated building, and an atmosphere of improvisation and spontaneity. The postcard on the bottom left shows the amphitheater in *Mauerpark*, a popular park in *Prenzlauer Berg*, very frequented by tourists. Opened in 1994, the Mauerpark has become, in the course of the recent years one of the most popular spots in Berlin, especially during weekends, when a flea market and an improvised karaoke attract lots of people. The postcard shows the open air theater where the karaoke takes place, though the picture was shot with the site almost empty. This way, we may guess that the photographer tried to capture the place and not the

¹²² Markwick, "Postcards", 429.

¹²³ Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, 16.

event, and probably the graffiti was his main interest. Graffiti seems to be a symbol of the spontaneity and informality of the spot, which are the features that make it different from other parks. The few people and the solitary dog on the bottom left of the stairs accent the sense of neglect that the graffiti produces. Both postcards play with a number of clichés of the subcultural scene imagery, in such a way that it makes another tourist attraction out of them.

The last postcard of this set (figure 46, right) is a black and white picture of the *Volksbühne*, a renowned theater in the East side of the city, famous for its experimental performances and the provocative theater techniques of its artist director Frank Castorf.¹²⁴ The building appears as a rakish symbol of culture and a vindication of the cultural tradition of the East. There is a number of elements that point in this direction in the picture: firstly, the sign with the word 'OST' on the top of the building; secondly, the banner, which is placed to announce the current play presented, in the same fashion as it was displayed during the GDR era; thirdly, the statement on the banner, "fuck off Amerika"; and finally, the enormous logo of the theatre in front of the main façade, a middle-age symbol in Rotwelsch, designed for the promotion of *Die Räuber* (The Robbers, by Friedrich Schiller), the first play staged by Castorf as artist director in 1992.¹²⁵ The mix of all these elements, together with the austere look of the sober façade photographed in black and white, give the postcard a timeless atmosphere, similar to those pictures of East Berlin in the seventies, which have become so popular in photography books, like those edited by *Lehmstedt Verlag*.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ See Matthias Matussek, "Die ewige Lederjacke: Matthias Matussek über Frank Castorfs Ost-Volksbühne am Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz.," *Der Spiegel*, June 1, 1997, Spiegel Special.

¹²⁵ Anke Dürr, "Der Bühnen-Sprengmeister," *Der Spiegel*, May 25, 1998, Spiegel Kultur Extra, 12–13.

¹²⁶ <http://lehmstedt.de/fotografie.htm>

As I stated before, the often frustrated quest of tourists for ‘the authentic’. This issue was described for the first time in the 1970’s by American sociologist Dean MacCannell, who observed that one of the main motivations of tourists to travel was the desire to see life “as it is really lived”, though they often failed on achieving this goal. The term ‘tourist’, is in fact often used as a derisive label for someone who seems content with inauthentic experiences.¹²⁷ For this reason, MacCannell argued, the tourist industry creates what he called ‘Staged authenticity’, a concept coined to refer to those events and places specially designed to generate a feeling of intimacy and authentic cultural experience. By entering such spaces adults achieve “to recapture sensations of discovery, or childlike feelings of being half in and half out of society, their faces pressed up against the glass”.¹²⁸ The postcards that I described in this section may be regarded as an example of this ‘staged authenticity’, a glimpse to the subcultures, the nostalgic East, or the everyday in the *Kiez*, captured in a picture, and ready to be visually consumed.

2.6.6. Berlin Then & Now

The next group of postcards is integrated by ten postcards that put an actual image of a popular landmark together with a historical photograph. The historical pictures show how places looked like, either after World War II or during the Cold War. The ‘Then & Now’ postcards are not exclusive of contemporary Berlin. We can find similar postcards of the city during the Cold War (figure 47), and we can find them also in contemporary postcards of other cities like Shanghai

¹²⁷ Dean MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 592.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 596.

(figure 48). Furthermore, there is an entire series of photo books, the so called “Then & Now” edition of Thunder Bay Press, which resort to this formula (figure 49).¹²⁹

This fascination that the search of traces of historical events in actual places stirs has been brought even further with the help of digital images and graphic edition software. Russian photographer Sergey Larenkov, for example, spent a year visiting cities in order to capture the same shots as a set of historic photographs from the 1940s, and then combined them, managing to produce the illusion of ‘time travelling’, as he calls it (figure 50).¹³⁰ The British newspaper *The Guardian* has recently created a new section called ‘Photography Then & Now’, where a gallery of interactive photographs created with the same technology as the one used by Larenkov is available.¹³¹ This way, we observe that the illusion of making visible the inscrutable interaction between space and time mesmerizes audiences. The postcards of this section were created based on this principle.

Figure 51 shows a postcard of the Brandenburg Gate, which compares two pictures: On the top we see a black and white aerial shot of the Gate in 1945, while at the bottom there is a contemporary non-dated view taken at ground level. The picture on the top shows the west side of the *Pariser Platz*, with the Gate and the surrounding buildings partially destroyed. On the west side of the gate we see a portion of the *Ebertstrasse* and a few cars passing by. The traces of the cars crossing the Brandenburg Gate form two vertical stripes that cross the picture

¹²⁹ <http://www.thunderbaybooks.com/catalog/ProductSearch.aspx?sj=173>

¹³⁰ *Huffington Post*, “Sergey Larenkov, Russian Photographer, Creates Hitler’s Day Out In Time-Travelling Photos,” March 19, 2012, Huffpost Culture; Sergey Larenkov, “Link to the Past”, website of Sergey Larenkov, accessed on June 22, 2014, <http://sergey-larenkov.livejournal.com/>

¹³¹ “Photography Then & Now”, website of the Guardian, accessed on June 22, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/series/photography-then-and-now>

from the bottom to the top, and resemble two smoke columns. In contrast with the grey landscape of the historical picture, the blue sky and the greenery predominate in the contemporary photograph. Instead of the dirty traces of the cars, the predominant vertical element in the second picture is the jet of water of a fountain. The opposition between the black traces in the picture on the top and the colorful elements at the bottom gives to the latter an atmosphere of vitality. There are no people around in the old picture, while the actual picture shows a lively square visited by tourists. The surrounding buildings in the second picture shape an architectural ensemble, which contrast with the devastated buildings on the first picture. The view of both images is likely to awaken a sense of wonder for the startling way that the city recovered from a terrible catastrophe. At the same time, the view of the old monument besides its contemporary image creates the illusion of a direct experience of the past. When looking at the postcard, the visitor of the *Brandenburger Tor* can say “I was there” to relative and friends, in the very place where one of the most important episodes of world History happened.

The next postcard (figure 52) shows on the top a train station, the *Anhalter Bahnhof*, photographed in 1945 after the war, while on the bottom we see a contemporary picture of the Main Train Station (*Hauptbahnhof*). Since the formula followed in this series of postcards is comparing popular places in the city with the way they looked after the war, this postcard presents an interesting inaccuracy: it places together two different places and presents them as if they were the same.

The election of the *Hauptbahnhof* as motif for a postcard is quite natural, since it constitutes one of the star projects of the so called ‘New Berlin’, but the

reason to present a different place as historical precedent is not completely clear. Looking at some pictures of the extinct *Lehrter Bahnhof* (figure 53), the train station that used to be located on the plot of the actual *Hauptbahnhof* the reason of the election becomes more evident, since the available historical pictures of the *Lehrter Bahnhof* were probably not suitable to produce the desired effect when placing them beside the new *Hauptbahnhof*. On one hand, a picture of the interior of the station would be less impressive and harder to recognize than the exterior view. On the other hand, two pictures showing shots from different angles would have been little convincing. The aim of the postcard is presenting easily recognizable and striking images, even if they are not historically accurate. Conversely, a contemporary shot of the place where the extinct *Anhalter Bahnhof* was has been used (figure 54), the message would have been quite different. The historical image of a destroyed building, accompanied by a recent picture of the same building already restored conveys a positive sense of continuity and redemption. The empty plot of the actual land where the *Anhalter Bahnhof* was located does not succeed in communicating this idea. On the other hand, the sense of being able to recognize traces of historical photographs in the current view of a place transmits to the visitor the illusion of *staring* at the past. As long as the postcards succeeds on creating in the visitor the sense of being standing on the same ground where historic events took place, looking at the traces left by History in the city and therefore, *experiencing* a piece of History. The historical accuracy of the pictures is a marginal issue.

This way, by placing two similar buildings together, as if they were the same, the postcard conveys an optimistic feeling. The heavy stone structure of the nineteenth century station contrasts with the light glass and steel dome of the

new station, while the grey panorama in the old picture contrast with the illuminated new station. *Hauptbahnhof* seems to be an improved version of the old station: more modern, more functional, more beautiful. This way, the viewer may infer that the tragedy of the city's destruction was not entirely senseless, thus a better present made a positive result out of it. The image provides a sense of ease which makes the postcard, and therefore also the travel experience, more enticing.

The next four postcards that I analyze in this group depict the *Reichstag* building. Figure 55 shows a postcard with the main façade of the building from a front view; on the top, we see the Reichstag as it was in 1945, while on the bottom, it appears in its current form. In the old picture, the ruined structure of the original dome looks a little exaggerated, and too high in relation with the rest of the building. The new dome in contrast looks more discrete and balanced. The new building has a light appearance because the sand stone is preciously illuminated by sunlight and the waving flags give a sensation of movement. Placed together, the old and new façades of the Reichstag suggest a similar idea to the one given by the postcard of *Hauptbahnhof* described before. The burned ruin of the old Reichstag represents the destruction of the parliamentary order by the war, still pervaded of bombastic pretensions, like its cupola. The new Reichstag, on the other hand, represents the recuperation of the parliamentary tradition, but in a new form, improved, stronger and more stable than it has ever been. The new building, free of the lavish ornamentation that made it look anachronistic and old-fashioned, looks lighter and younger. The new cupola, designed by British architect Norman Foster, gives the building a modern and anew image, while the waving flags deliver a sense of national pride and freedom.

The new *Reichstag* is a powerful symbol of the consolidated German democracy, and placed together with a picture of the old one, transmits the idea of positive historical development.¹³²

Figure 56 shows another postcard of the *Reichstag*, which focuses on its main entrance, together with an historical photograph from 1945. The old picture shows the ruinous façade of the building in the background, with the rests of a sculpture on the foreground as main motif.¹³³ The *Reichstag* appears as a ghostly presence, a solitary victim of History, decayed and neglected. The rickety sculpture of a fisherman seems to try to rescue something from the rubble, resembling the laborious women (*Trümmerfrauen*), who undertook the reconstruction of the city during the postwar (figure 58). Since the destruction of the Reichstag was a result of the allied bombing during World War II, its image as a ruin represents the catastrophic outcome of the megalomaniac Nazi regime. The photograph brings together both the parliamentary tradition that the *Reichstag* building represented with its classical forms, and its downfall into the hands of National Socialism.

On a short essay written in 1911, Georg Simmel describes the powerful effect that ruins produce as follows: “With this piece which we are holding in our hand, we command in spirit the entire span of time since its inception; the past with its destinies and transformations has been gathered into this instant of an

¹³² The symbolical meaning of the new cupola has been analyzed, among others, by Buddensieg (1994) and Bredekamp (2009). Bredekamp asserts that the cupola, which can be freely walked by visitors, works as an inverted metaphor of Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, in which the citizens ‘usurp’ the head of the State. This metaphor is obscured by the numerous barriers that currently block the free access to the main entrance of the building, placed because of suspicion of a possible terrorist attack in November 2010. The cupola is transparent and people circulate through it, but only under strict security measures.

¹³³ The sculpture appears in one of the shots of the *Reichstag* fire on the night of 27th February 1933 (Image 57).

aesthetically perceptible present”.¹³⁴ This way, the postcard invokes the charm of the ruin and its power to arouse deep emotions in the viewer. The image of the ruin of the *Reichstag* is powerful because it fusions into one form: “past and present, purpose and accident, nature and culture, death and life”.¹³⁵

Architecture, argued Simmel, is the manifestation of a delicate balance between nature (matter) and spirit. Such balance shifts in favor of nature when a building decays:

... the merely natural forces begin to become master over the work of man: the balance between nature and spirit, which the building manifested, shifts in favor of nature. This shift becomes a cosmic tragedy which, so we feel, makes every ruin an object infused with our nostalgia; for now the decay appears as nature’s revenge for the spirit’s having violated it by making a form in its own image (...) as if the artistic formation had only been an act of violence committed by the spirit to which the stone unwillingly submitted, as if it now gradually shook off this yoke and returned once more into the independent lawfulness of its own forces.¹³⁶

Abandoned to the corroding force of nature, the ruin embodies what Simmel calls a “secret justice of destruction”, because the ruin reverses the order forced by architecture, when rendering the matter to the spirit:

The same forces which gave a mountain its shape through weathering, erosion, faulting, growth of vegetation, here do their work on old walls (...) destruction here is not something senselessly coming from the outside but rather the realization of a tendency inherent in the deepest layer of existence of the destroyed.¹³⁷

The ruin that Simmel refers to is the classical ruin, left behind by the passage of time and the forces of nature, as conceptualized by Romanticism. But the image

¹³⁴ Georg Simmel, “Two Essays. The Handle and the Ruin.,” *The Hudson Review* 11, no. 3 (1958): 385.

¹³⁵ Andreas Huyssen, “Authentic Ruins,” in Hell, *Ruins of Modernity*, 26.

¹³⁶ Simmel, “Two Essays”, 379–80.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 381–82.

that we are discussing here does not fit with this concept of ruin, and that is why the introduction of the second picture, the contemporary picture, is so relevant.

In the second picture we see the new face of the reconstructed *Reichstag*, with its restored façade and its new cupola. Instead of the rubble of the first picture, we see the clean surface of the lawn. The dimensions of the human figure on the first picture differ sharply with the tiny human figures standing in a line on the main entrance of the building in the second picture. The small human figures make that the building seems bigger and more impressive. The new *Reichstag* is a majestic building, ordered, equilibrated, and full of life; while the old one is a ruin inhabited just by ghosts. The tension between ‘the spiritual form’ and the effect of natural forces that Simmel described is neutralized in the postcard by the second picture. The optimistic image of the restored *Reichstag* brings back the faith in progress and moral improvement of human works. The new building with its brand-new cupola embodies the promise of justice, democracy and progress once more. The stones on the ground were cleaned, the façade recovered its purity and color, and the building recovered its parliamentary function. The former uncanny and empty building is gone. It was erased along with its ghosts and substituted by a new restored building.

Analyzing the views of ruins of Giambattista Piranesi, Andreas Huyssen speaks of an *architettura morta*, an architecture that reminds us of its own transitoriness, but also warns that forgetting the past can be destructive to a culture.¹³⁸ The interplay between the ruin and the rebuilt *Reichstag* that we see in the postcard goes in the opposite direction. This architecture speaks of a

¹³⁸ Andreas Huyssen, “Authentic Ruins,” in Hell, *Ruins of Modernity*, 24.

powerful present, capable of correcting and erasing the mistakes of the past and reducing memory to an optimistic discourse.

In spite that the original project for reconstruction considered strict conservationist guidelines to protect the historical traces in the building, like the graffiti that Russian soldiers left behind after the conquest of the city, the results are not visible in the postcard. The *Reichstag* looks new, clean and bright, and one can hardly recognize these ‘traces of the past’ on its façade.

Huyssen asserts that in any imaginary of ruins is present “the hardly nostalgic consciousness of the transitoriness of all greatness and power, the warning of imperial hubris and the remembrance of nature in all culture”.¹³⁹ ‘Authentic ruins’ (as they existed in the 18th and 19th centuries), he claims, have no place in late capitalism’s culture of commodity. Instead we observe an obsession with preservation, which expresses a fear or denial of the ruination of time.¹⁴⁰ The discourse of this postcard works in this vein. It does not speak of transitoriness, nor warns of *hubris*; on the contrary, like the phoenix, it exalts the historical feat of recovering from destruction and commends such achievement.

Figures 59 and 60 present two postcards with aerial views of the area around the *Reichstag*. In the first postcard we see a photograph from 1946 on the left side, while on the right side is another photograph of the same area taken around 2004 or 2005.¹⁴¹ The old picture shows a devastated and broken city. There are large empty areas everywhere and the still-standing buildings resemble islands in the middle of a neglected land. There are a few traces of the

¹³⁹ Ibid., 13.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴¹ I established the date considering that the American Embassy is not in the picture (It was built between 2004 and 2008), but the Holocaust Memorial does (It was built between 2003 and 2004).

former urban layout: a square, some roads, a park; but the urban fabric is extensively fragmented. In the present city, in contrast, we see a more coherent landscape. In spite of great portions of the area which are still on construction (for example, the empty space of the American Embassy in the foreground, and the empty plots close to the train station), the landscape is more consistent and buildings appear linked to each other. The curved line of the railway, for example, leads to the new building of the *Hauptbahnhof*, the *Kanzleramt* and the *Paul Löbe Haus* appear connected by the line of the *Band des Bundes*, and the flux of autos along the adjacent avenues is constant, as well as the greenery. Considering that this area remained almost abandoned during the Cold War due to its proximity to the Berlin Wall, we know that most of the changes that we observe in the postcards took place after Reunification. Since the 1990's, the city urban policies have been oriented to fulfill the empty spaces left behind by war destruction, and almost three decades of division.¹⁴² The postcard makes visible the contrast in the city texture across the time: postwar Berlin was a fractured city, while in the New Berlin the urban continuity has been restored by covering scars, filling empty plots and defining spaces.

A similar idea derives from other postcard (figure 60), depicting the same area, but that focuses on the *Reichstag* building and the adjoining *Paul Löbe Haus* and *Marie Elisabeth Lüders Haus*. Both pictures in the postcard show a different angle of shooting; the old picture shows the south side of the *Reichstag*, while the new one shows the east side. The election of different angles for two

¹⁴² See, for example, the careful study of the historical urban ground plans made by Hans Stimmann: Hans Stimmann, *Die gezeichnete Stadt: Die Physiognomie der Berliner Innenstadt in Schwarz- und Parzellenplänen 1940-2010* = *The city in black : the physiognomy of central Berlin in figure-ground plans and parcel plans 1940-2010* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2002). A succinct description of the 'black plans' created by Stimmann can be found in: Daniel Solomon, *Global City Blues* (Washington: Island Press, 2003), 87–100.

pictures to be compared may obey to the purpose of highlighting, in the second picture, the vertical line of the *Band des Bundes*. The vertical band shaped by the building in the center, is part of the architectonic concept designed by Axel Schultes and Charlotte Frank as a representation of the united city, linking East and West with a complex of office buildings for the representatives of the *Bundestag*.¹⁴³ The broken lines of the destroyed buildings in the picture on the top contrast with the clean, straight lines of the new buildings in the recent photograph in which, even the trees are placed in a line. This way, the topic of this postcard is the restoration of the fragmented space of the city accomplished during the recent years.

In an article entitled “Air War and Architecture”, Anthony Vidler analyzes the impact of bombing in architecture of the postwar era. Referring to an argument previously discussed by W.G. Sebald on his “Luftkrieg und Literatur”, Vidler speaks of a need of the people who lived bombings in many European cities for ignoring or forgetting the ruins that the war left behind. Such need was eased by using architecture as cover-up. Updating his argument to the reaction triggered by the catastrophic images of 9/11, Vidler traces this attitude to “a mingling of guilt and embarrassment”, as much as to the need to demonstrate by rebuilding, that a nation can be “greater and stronger than ever before”.¹⁴⁴ This way, Vidler explains that the plans of reconstruction after such catastrophes had the purpose of erasing the traces of attack and to “rebuild according to hopes for a better and more human world”. This way, reconstruction constitutes a means to demonstrate resilience and hope. Hence the importance of building back

¹⁴³ Joannah Caborn, *Schleichende Wende: Diskurse von Nation und Erinnerung bei der Konstituierung der Berliner Republik*, Edition DISS 10 (Münster: Unrast, 2006).

¹⁴⁴ Anthony Vidler, “Air War and Architecture,” in Hell, *Ruins of Modernity*, 29.

“higher and stronger than before”, thus architecture would be a way of replying to attacks. Relocating this argument to the case of Berlin, we observe a similar response. The frenetic building activity that the government undertook after Reunification may be interpreted linked to the desire of going back to normality; and these postcards may reflect this preoccupation as well. The images of the rebuilt city, representing the recovered normality may have the power of conferring a sense of ease and tranquility in the viewer.

The main motif of the next postcard is the Brandenburg Gate (figure 61). On the left side, we see a black and white photograph from 1961, taken at ground level from the West side; while on the right side we see another picture, taken probably before 2002, and from the opposite side than its counterpart (from East).¹⁴⁵ In the first picture, we see a barbed wire filling almost the entire view on the foreground, and behind, a warning sign marking the border. Diverse elements, like a block of stone, and some papers and leaves spread on the ground, give a sensation of neglect. Placed together, the two pictures suggest a number of contrasts: Firstly, the opposition between the grey drabness of the picture on the left and the colorful picture on the right; secondly, the barrier as main motif on the left picture, represented by the barbed wire, the jammed papers and the heavy stone, contrasts with the fluid flow of autos crossing the gate; and thirdly, the opposite messages of the signs, thus while the sign of the left picture prevents from crossing, the traffic signs on the right reminds us that it is a roadway. In addition, both pictures were taken from opposite sides of the Gate, in a way that when we look at the Quadriga, we have the sensation of looking at mirror pictures showing opposites views of the same object. Furthermore, the

¹⁴⁵ The vehicle traffic through the gate was closed in 2002.

election of the 'today' picture is not casual. In spite that the Pariser Platz has been a pedestrian square, closed to the traffic, for at least ten years, the editors chose a picture taken in a time when the access was not restricted yet. Taking this in account we can find in the postcard a concrete historical interpretation: The original function of the gate, serving as an access point to the city, was distorted when East Germany blocked it, but the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reopening of the gate to the traffic represents the restoration of normality, and therefore a vindication of History.

The postcard on figure 62 depicts the Brandenburg Gate too. The historical picture on the top, taken in 1985, shows in the foreground a group of four men staring at the Gate from the East side of the city. They are located in a spot where the *Pariser Platz* finishes and starts *Unter den Linden*, three of them seated, and the one other standing. Two rows of metallic barriers prevent them to cross, and a wood cart, with which they probably carried the chairs, lies down behind them. In the left background we see a group of people, maybe some visitors of the Information Centre that was located on one side of the gate, to whom the three men seem to watch from afar.¹⁴⁶ The contrasting image on the lower half of the postcard is a view of the Gate taken in 2009. Instead of the frontal view, we see the gate from a low-angle shot, which makes it look monumental. A ray of sunlight shines through the Gate, giving a sense of hope. In contrast with the motionless cart in the middle of the first picture on the top, we see in the second picture some people on bikes, crossing the Gate. The men in the old picture are depicted as

¹⁴⁶ The information Center was under the commission of border soldiers of the GDR, who were in charge of guiding state visitors who wanted to see the Berlin Wall. The main attraction in such tours was a platform, in front of the gate, from which the visitors were able to take a look to the border and to West Berlin. Between 1961 and 1989 the Information Center was visited by around 30,000 people. Lothar Heinke, "Das Tor macht auf," *Der Tagesspiegel*, December 18, 2006.

passive viewers, staring at the distance, unable to cross the barrier, while the people in the new picture move freely and cross the Gate without any restriction.

The next Postcard (figure 63) shows a perspective view of the Berlin Wall in 1986, along the *Zimmerstrasse*, between Checkpoint Charlie and the *Martin Gropius Bau*. This is the only postcard that shows both the old and the new images in color, maybe because that way the colorful graffiti on the Berlin Wall can be better appreciated. The picture was shot from West Berlin, so the portion on the left upper corner of the photograph was territory of the GDR, while the portion on the left-bottom corresponds to West Berlin. In the background we see the House of Ministries¹⁴⁷ (former Ministry of Aviation and current German Finance Ministry) and a watching tower with a military vehicle besides. On the West side in contrast, we see the colorful graffiti and several people walking along. The second picture shows exactly the same place, but instead of the Wall we see the open space of the street and some cars. People walk by on the same side than in the older picture, but in the opposite direction. Instead of the watchtower, there are parasols and some advertising of the nearby *Berliner Weltballon*, a helium balloon that offers a panoramic viewpoint of the city. The Finance Ministry looks lighter and cleaner, while the building in the left foreground has been renovated too. The old picture is a portrait of an anomalous situation both in West and East. The dilapidated building, the old street path and the graffiti give an impression of decay, while the atmosphere in the opposite side is certainly repressive and militaristic. On the new picture in contrast, we see a normal street, frequented by tourists.

¹⁴⁷ The *Haus der Ministerien* hosted the Council of Ministers from 1950 until 1990, which according to the Constitution was the official government in East Germany.

At the end of the street photographed in this postcard, on the corner of *Wilhelmstrasse* and *Niederkirchnerstrasse* (upper left of both pictures), the current location of the documentation center *Topographie des Terrors*. The project for building this documentation center was originally entrusted to Swiss architect Peter Zumthor in 1993. His design projected, according with the guidelines of the foundation *Topographie des Terrors*, leaving the place exactly as it was, in order to preserve and make visible the traces of History (figure 64).¹⁴⁸ The original plan considered preserving the ruins, avoiding any way of beautification, and displaying the evidence of forty years of postwar neglect, in order to encourage an active confrontation with the past. The site itself, and not the building, would be the monument, “the building would mean nothing”.¹⁴⁹ The goal was that the visitor might experience the site with no mediation of any institutional discourse.¹⁵⁰

In 1992 architect Daniel Libeskind had proposed a similar idea, suggesting leaving one kilometer of land in the area of *Potsdamer Platz* just the way it was before its reconstruction, as a testimony of what happened there.¹⁵¹ The concern of both architects of preserving at least a portion of the land as it was by the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall, might obey to their awareness of the potential danger that historical traces faced when the process of reconstruction started, and the

¹⁴⁸ For a description of the project by the architect see: Peter Zumthor, *Three Concepts: Thermal Bath Vals, Art Museum Bregenz, "Topography of Terror" Berlin* (Basel, Boston: Birkhauser Verlag, 1997). For a visual overview of the project visit <http://socks-studio.com/2011/11/14/zumthors-topographie-des-terrors-1993-2004-visual-history-of-birth-growth-and-death-of-a-project/>

¹⁴⁹ Erika Bucholtz, Philipp Dittrich and Angela L. Kauls, *Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie des Terrors, Berlin: 309 Entwürfe - Katalog zur Ausstellung der Wettbewerbsarbeiten* (Berlin: Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung; Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2006).

¹⁵⁰ Nils Ballhausen, “Ein treffen im "Sprechzimmer der Geschichte": Ein Gespräch mit Andreas Nachama und Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm,” *Bauwelt* 16 (2010).

¹⁵¹ Alois M. Müller and Daniel Libeskind, eds., *Daniel Libeskind: Radix-Matrix*, Architekturen und Schriften (München, New York: Prestel, 1994), 149.

potential historical amnesia that it might carry. But the urban programs implemented by the city government during the last twenty-five years went in the opposite direction: wounds are healed, voids are filled, and traces are covered.

The Zumthor's project could not be completed due to technical delays and disagreements between architect and authorities. It was finally dismantled and a new design (by Ursula Wilms & Heinz W. Hallmann) was built between 2004 and 2005 instead. This way, the 'Then and Now' postcards offer to the visitor the images of the past that were erased of the physical landscape. When the visitors walk along the *Zimmerstrasse*, they can hardly evoke the atmosphere that the postcard shows. Between the renovated buildings, the brand-new documentation center, the WELT balloon sight point, and the colorful *trabis* offering nostalgic tours in GDR fashion, only a few curious tourists walk beyond the crowded exhibition to look for the rests of the 'Autodrom' that was installed in the 1980s in the abandoned plot, and other archeological vestiges that remain hidden in the bush and undergrowth.

The last postcard of this group (figure 66) depicts the area of *Potsdamer Platz*. The picture on the top is a photograph of the Berlin Wall from 1961 with the *Potsdamer Platz* seen from the West (from *Potsdamer Strasse* and heading to *Stresemannstrasse*). In the foreground we see the blocked entrance of the *S-Bahn* station and behind it, the Berlin Wall. Then we see the so called 'death strip' and in the background the *Stresemanstrasse*. In the right upper corner we see the ruin of *Haus Vaterland* and the entrances of the *S-Bahn* and the *U-Bahn* stations. The photograph in the bottom was taken in 2009 and shows a view of the same area, but from a different angle, taken from a point where the 'death strip' goes in the first picture. This way, both pictures were taken in the same

place, but they do not show the same view. The contemporary photograph shows a low angle shot of three skyscrapers: the tower of Daimler, designed by Renzo Piano; The Kollhoff Tower; and the Helmuth Jahn's tower for the *Deutsche Bahn*. The verticality of the high buildings is underlined not only by the angle of the shot, but also by the contrasting height of the traffic light and people, making the picture look slightly artificial, like a computer generated graphic. It is interesting that the atmosphere in the new picture looks even more oppressive than in the old picture. The skyscrapers look menacing, like enormous watchful figures, on the brink of falling over people who looks tiny. The Cold War's landscape, though desolate, at least maintains the human scale and its emptiness offers the possibility of a new beginning. This way, this is the only postcard whose combination of 'Then and Now' images does not result in a flattering image of the present. Andreas Huyssen has observed that "we are nostalgic for the ruins of modernity because they still seem to hold a promise that has vanished from our own age: the promise of an alternative future". And he continues: "The desire for the auratic and the authentic has always reflected the fear of inauthenticity, the lack of existential meaning and the absence of individual originality".¹⁵² Those are exactly the feelings that the postcard of *Potsdamer Platz* seems to mirror: nostalgia, desire for the authentic, fear of lack of existential meaning. The new *Potsdamer Platz* may not cope well with the test of time and do not offer a positive image of the present, not to say of future.

After analyzing this group of postcards we observe three main aspects that make them attractive for the visitor. Firstly, the postcards present an optimistic

¹⁵² Andreas Huyssen, "Nostalgia for Ruins," *Grey Room* 23 (2006): 8–9.

image of the present time that produces a reassuring effect. The view of catastrophic destruction and ruins that were completely repaired, or images of barriers that were dismantled, give a pleasant feeling of living in a good moment in History. If we take a look to a series of similar photographs taken by German photographer Stefan Koppelkamm, and published in the book *Ortszeit* (Local Time), we can identify a significant difference (figures 67 and 68).¹⁵³ After documenting buildings and streets in different cities of East Germany a few months after the fall of the Berlin Wall, he came back to the same places, twelve years later, to take new photographs from the same spot, in order to document the changes. Though the strategy is similar to the one employed in the postcards, the result is quite different, thus in Koppelkamm's photographs, the renewed areas do not always look better than their historical counterparts. As Peter Richter asserted in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*:

...aber häufig hat man den merkwürdigen Eindruck, dass der Zugewinn an Fassadenfarbe einen Verlust an Würde bedeutet: Gebäude, die den Sozialismus nur mit knapper Not überlebt haben, wirken ein paar Fördermittelmillionen später nicht unbedingt lebendiger, sondern endgültig einbalsamiert.¹⁵⁴

A second reason where the appealing of these postcards resides is that they offer to the visitor the illusion of getting a glimpse to the past in current buildings. According to Waitt & Head, one of the characteristics of postcards is that they contain "the adventure, mystery, escape, or pleasure experienced at the

¹⁵³ Stefan Koppelkamm and Ludger Derenthal, *Stefan Koppelkamm: Ortszeit = Local time* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2006) Or visit the website: S. Koppelkamm, "Ortszeit", accessed June 25, 2014, <http://ortszeitlocaltime.de>

¹⁵⁴ "...but frequently is given the remarkable impression, that the gain in the colors of the façade means a loss in its dignity: the buildings, that survived socialism with great difficulty, seem after a couple of millions of subventions, not necessarily more alive, but just embalmed". Peter Richter, "Die Zeit heilt alle Wunder. Läuft die Chronologie verkehrt herum? Stefan Koppelkamms Osten," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, November 27, 2005.

vacation destination".¹⁵⁵ Since History is one of the most frequent reasons that tourists mention to visit the city, buying postcards like those presented in this section might be an attempt to grasp what cannot be grasped. The tourist cannot take a picture of a landscape that do not exist anymore, but by buying a historical postcard he/she can bring to home the proof of having visited and witnessed those terrible landscapes that the postcard depicts and say: I was there.

A third reason of the 'Then & Now' postcards appealing is that they engage in the task of showing 'authentic' places. According to MacCannell, in modern society, vacation trips play a similar role than the pilgrimage played during the Middle Ages: both are quests that the traveler undertakes looking for authentic experiences. Pilgrims attempted to visit a place where an event of religious importance actually occurred, while tourists look for places of social, historical, and cultural importance to take their vacations.¹⁵⁶ The postcards presented here offer the tourists 'historical relics' and provide them with "the illusion of traveling back in time to a disjunctive moment, when history is just about to begin".¹⁵⁷ Deborah Rose employs the concept 'Year Zero' to refer to this disjunctive moment where "something is going to happen" and "everything is in transition".¹⁵⁸ Taking as reference the concept of 'liminal time' described by Victor Turner,¹⁵⁹ Rose uses the concept to characterize the Australian "colonizing frontier" in tourists' imaginary, as a place "in which history is about to begin, but has not yet

¹⁵⁵ Gordon Waitt and Lesley Head, "Postcards and Frontier Mythologies: Sustaining Views of the Kimberley as Timeless," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20, no. 3 (2001): 323.

¹⁵⁶ MacCannell 593.

¹⁵⁷ Waitt and Head, "Postcards", 319.

¹⁵⁸ Deborah Rose, "The Year Zero and the North Australian Frontier," in *Tracking Knowledge in North Australian Landscapes: Studies in Indigenous and Settler Ecological Knowledge Systems*, ed. Deborah B. Rose and Anne Clarke (Casuarina, N.T: North Australia Research Unit, Australian National University, 1997), 19–36.

¹⁵⁹ Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures 1966 (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co, 1969).

quite begun". The illusion of visiting a place where time seems to be suspended -in contrast to the instantaneous time of cities- seems to be a powerful magnet for tourists, thus the main reason to travel is the desire of breaking the routine of their everyday lives. The postcard of *Zimmerstrasse*, as well as the postcard of *Potsdamer Platz* contain a note of nostalgia for a moment in the past when time seems to be suspended and History seems to be about to begin. Such evocation is powerful because it embodies the myth of everlasting transformation and indetermination that also the Berlin government uses in its campaign, as we see in chapter one. It is a similar fascination than the one that the 'voids' of Berlin awake. This way, both visitors and new comers, travel to Berlin attracted to those legendary, indeterminate places where everything is possible, where everything is "about to begin".

2.6.7. 'Alternative' Berlin

The group of postcards that I describe in this section is integrated by fifteen postcards with images related to the alternative scene in Berlin, like squats, street art and radical leftist activism. I considered interesting to analyze these postcards because, despite that they depict topics that are not usual in touristic postcards, in Berlin, such motifs are considered as pivotal feature of the city.

More than a half of the postcards in this group are photographs of squat buildings. Berlin has a long tradition of squatting that goes back to the 1970s, especially in those areas close to the Wall. During the 1990's, squatting became an even more extended practice, due to the plenty of neglected buildings which after the fall of the Wall were abandoned or were object of legal disputes related to their ownership. Such buildings, located either in the former GDR or in the

areas close to the Wall in West Berlin, became suitable locations to test alternative lifestyle projects, focused in autonomy, spontaneity and improvisation. Nowadays some of the squats remain active, some were evicted, some others were legalized and a few stayed illegal.¹⁶⁰

The first two postcards of this section show two central buildings in the touristic circuits of the city: The art house *Tacheles* (Also discussed in section 2.6.5., figure 69) and the *Haus Schwarzenberg* (figure 70). Both places are situated in the *Scheunenviertel* in Berlin *Mitte*. The building where *Tacheles* was located was an old department store built in the early 20th century, which had different uses across the time. It was close to be demolished in 1990, when it was squatted by an initiative of artists who converted the dilapidated building in an alternative art center with workshops, galleries, cinema, a coffee shop and several exhibition rooms. During more than twenty years the dwellers struggled with a number of legal battles and, on the way, the project passed from the subculture to the mainstream. During its last years of existence, *Tacheles* gained the government's recognition and support and was listed by several travel guides as one of the main attractions to visit in Berlin, including the official website of the city.¹⁶¹ The art center was finally closed in September 2012 and its tenants moved out, some of them to a new art house in a less centric location in Berlin-Marzahn.¹⁶² The *Haus Schwarzenberg*, by its part, is located in *Rosenthaler Strasse*, in one of the courtyards of the *Hackesche Höfe*. Most of the houses in

¹⁶⁰ See: Constance Carr, "Social Spatial Borders Delimiting Difference in Berlin" (Dissertation, Philosophische Fakultät III, Humboldt Universität-Berlin, 2010), accessed September 16, 2013.

¹⁶¹ "Berlin.de Das offizielle Hauptstadtportal", <http://www.berlin.de>

¹⁶² For a description of the project see: "Das Neue Tacheles 2013-2033", accessed June 25, 2014, http://issuu.com/artprotacheles/docs/tacheles20132033_good_version/33?e=7968803/3713980. For the new art center in Marzahn see: "Alte Brose Marzahn", accessed June 25, 2014, <http://alte-boerse-marzahn.de/>

the building were restored and are today a very popular spot for tourists; only the courtyard where *Haus Schwarzenberg* is located has not been renovated and conserves its dilapidated aspect. Declared in 2005 as a protected monument, the house is owned by a collective art project, and lodges diverse cultural spaces like an art gallery, two small history museums, a cinema, as well as a café and a pub. The black & white photograph of *Haus Schwarzenberg* that appears in the postcard makes the building look older than it actually is, giving the sense of a place from another time. The naked walls in the entrance and the almost empty courtyard reinforce that impression. The aesthetic of this postcard resembles a nostalgic trend promoted in many photography books published in the recent years depicting places and moments of the everyday life in East Berlin under the GDR.¹⁶³ Such sense of nostalgia for lost places and bygone times linked to the life in the GDR, has been object of extensive discussions, and is referred as a widespread phenomenon called *Ostalgie*.¹⁶⁴

In both postcards of *Tacheles* and *Haus Schwarzenberg* we see images of places that do not exist anymore: the actual *Haus Schwarzenberg* looks very different (figure 71) and the art house *Tacheles* is currently closed. Both projects became curious remnants of another time in the middle of central and gentrified neighborhoods crowded by tourists, newcomers, and fancy stores and restaurants. One may even venture to say, that they survived because they became a sanitized version of the subcultures, deprived of its political meaning and ready to be consumed by tourists yearning for 'authentic' experiences and

¹⁶³ See: Gerd Danigel, "DDR vor und nach dem Mauerfall", accessed June 25, 2014, <http://ddr-fotograf.de/>

¹⁶⁴ See: Daphne Berdhal, "'(N)Ostalgie' for the Present: Memory, Longing, and East German Things," *Ethnos* 64, no. 2 (1999); Claudia Sadowski-Smith, "Ostalgie: Revaluing the Past, Regressing into the Future," *GDR Bulletin* 25, Spring (1998).

for tasting the 'alternative' side of Berlin. They became what MacCannell calls 'front regions', namely places decorated to appear as 'back regions' or 'authentic' places.¹⁶⁵ I will elaborate on this idea further below.

Figures 72 and 73 show two postcards of other alternative projects in gentrified neighborhoods. The first postcard shows the *Morgenrot* café, a meeting point for left-oriented political and cultural events, while the second portrays the adjacent *Ka86*, a residential and cultural project for homosexuals and transgender.¹⁶⁶ Both houses are located in the trendy and fully renovated *Kastanienallee*, one of the most popular streets in *Prenzlauer Berg*. The building of the *Ka86*, with its dilapidated façade crossed by the words "Kapitalismus normiert, zerstört, tötet" (Capitalism norm, destroy, kill), looks like a rarity, surrounded as it is by restaurants and boutiques. The main motif in the foreground of the postcard is a small sign with the letter T of the tramway fitting with the letter T in 'zerstört'. The word 'kapitalismus', which can be understood in several languages, is the focus of the top portion of the picture in combination with the red star on the left. The combination of the ruined façade and the leftist words and symbols results in a photograph that attempts to portray a typical squat of Berlin in the 1990s. The façade of the *Ka86* has not changed significantly, but it is understandable that the photographer decided to choose a close-up for his shot; otherwise the photograph would have looked quite different.

¹⁶⁵ MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity", 602.

¹⁶⁶ Squatted in 1990 and currently in danger of eviction, the house lodges a residential community for homosexual and transgender (*Tuntenhaus*), a soup kitchen (*Volksküche*) a food bank and a non commercial art gallery. See: "Ka86.de Historie", accessed June 25, 2014, <http://ka86.de/historie.html>; "Tuntenhaus. Ein Wohnungprojekt von Schwuchtel in einem ex-besetzten Haus in Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg", accessed June 24, 2014, <http://tuntenhaus-berlin.de/?Tuntenhaus>

Similarly, the *Morgenrot* café has not change dramatically either, but it is the neighborhood what looks completely different now, as we observe comparing the picture in the postcards, taken in 2004, with a contemporary view (figure 74). In the new picture, the garbage in the sidewalk is gone, and instead we see tables, plants and parasols that soften the atmosphere, while the posters announcing concerts on the wall are also gone, and have been replaced with stickers. Similar to the postcard of *Haus Schwarzenberg*, we observe in this postcard a nostalgic representation of a place that can still be visited, but that does not look the way it looks in the postcard.

The difference between the actual state of a place and its image depicted on postcards is rather more dramatic in the next four examples. Figures 75 and 76 show two postcards depicting a squat in *Tucholskystraße* in two different times. Judging by the yellow sign in the center, the first picture (figure 75) must have been taken around 1992 or 1993. During those years, the bid of Berlin to host the Olympic Games in 2000 was object of fierce protests by leftist activists who adopted the emblem of the promoters, a yellow bear known as *Berliner Bewerbungsbärchen*, as symbol of their fight, and distorted its former naïve appearance by adding a red shot on its face. The house on the picture, was squatted on 1990 by a group of young West Berliners, and housed four bars, two of them in the picture: the 'Friedrich', on the left side, and the 'Zosch' on the right side. The façade shows several banners hanging from the windows. The banner in the middle shows the yellow bear accompanied by the acronym of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the words "*Bonnzen! Wir scheißen auf Olympia*" (Fat cats! We shit on the Olympics). There are several garbage containers, plants and old stuff on the side walk and the walls are dilapidated and

covered with graffiti. On the right side we see a blue *Trabant*, apparently in use by the time. On the second postcard (figure 76), we see another picture of the same building in 1998, focused on the Friedrich Bar and its adjacent entrance. The blue *trabant* is still in front of the building, but abandoned and converted in a pot for plants that grow wildly everywhere, on the walls and on the sidewalk. It is interesting that both photographs, taken more than 15 years ago, are still sold in souvenir shops, especially because the depicted places look absolutely different now, to such extent that it is very hard even to locate them. If we compare the postcards with contemporary pictures of the building (figures 77 and 78) we will see the changes more clearly. The house at number 32 was completely renovated and the premises of the 'Friedrich' bar are now occupied by a Comic Shop. The 'Zosch' bar is still there, but its rough façade is partially covered with a canopy and plants. The garbage and the posters on the wall disappeared, as well as the *trabant*. The changes in the surroundings of the building are even more dramatic. Surrounded by art galleries, restaurants and trendy boutiques, the actual *Tucholskystraße* has nothing to do with the images in the postcards.

The next two postcards show similar examples of squats located in different districts (*Kreuzberg* and *Friedrichshain*). The buildings photographed in these postcards still house communitarian projects to the present day, though the occupancy was legalized and the buildings were renovated. Figure 79 is a postcard of the house in *Kreutzigerstraße* 18, before its renovation in 2002.¹⁶⁷ If we compare the image in the postcard with the way the house looks today (figure 80) we notice some small, but substantial changes. The old version of the graffiti covering the façade is full of leftists mottos and symbols: the Spanish word

¹⁶⁷ Antje Krüger, "Besetzte Häuser einst und jetzt: Der lange Marsch," *Mieter Magazin*, 09/2003.

“*Venceremos*” (We Shall Triumph) that was a political hymn during the elections that brought Salvador Allende to the presidency in Chile at the beginning of the 70s; an African proverb (“*Viele Kleine Leute, die an vielen kleinen Orten viele kleine Dinge tun können das Gesicht der Welt verändern*”); the words „*Jambo Musungu*“ (Hello white man) used in different parts of Africa (specially in Swahili language); and diverse figures with the pan-African colors (green, gold and red). The current graffiti on the contrary, looks brighter and the African colors are gone. The balconies were changed and instead of the red-black flag on the center, we see now a character of the American television series *Futurama*, and in the place of the infoshop (a type of store which serves as meeting space and node for distribution of political and subcultural information), we see now a store of natural products and therapies. These small changes are a clear evidence of the way that the political discourse of such projects has tempered, in such a way that the election of a picture with the old façade for the postcard may obey to the desire of showing the former radicalism.

The second example, on the other hand shows more drastic changes. The postcard is a photograph of the house in *Adalbertstraße* 32 (figure 81), squatted in 1990 and legalized four years later by the association *Kleingeist e.V.*¹⁶⁸ In the photograph we see an old façade covered by graffiti and surrounded by abandoned objects: a shopping cart, a broken bicycle and an enormous red hammer and sickle. A piece of cloth with the words ‘Adalbert ta Askatasuna’ (Adalbert and Freedom) related to the Basque nationalist and separatist organization ETA covers one of the windows on the top. The photograph in the

¹⁶⁸ A registered association for Art, Culture and Political Education. See: “Das Open Space. Über Uns”, accessed June 25, 2014, <http://www.openspace32.de/ueber.php>; Gilles Soubeyrand, “Geschichte des Hauses Adalbertstr. 32”, accessed June 25, 2014, <http://www.fotocommunity.de/pc/pc/display/4739335>

postcard was shot in 1990. Five years later the house was renovated (1995-1999) and it looks completely different nowadays (figure 82). Instead of the political signs (Anarchy, squatters' symbol, hammer and sickle), the building's façade is covered now with a playful graffiti with motifs of the comic 'Amerika';¹⁶⁹ and instead of the broken bicycle we see a Mini-Cooper.

Another postcard (figure 83) shows a building in the *Auguststraße* 92, where a *Kneipe* called *Verkehrs Beruhigte Ost-Zone* was located. According with one of the posters on the wall, the picture might have been taken around 1995, a few years after reunification when the neighborhood still maintained the atmosphere from the GDR time.¹⁷⁰ The surface of the façade is worn out and the facility seems to be closed; there are not clients or tables, and doors are closed too. We only see a woman walking by with a stroller and a little boy. Some details on the photograph, like the posters on the wall and the passerby's clothes are colored with blue, green, yellow and pink. On the postcard footer we read "Berlin...einfach anders" (Berlin, just different). The text refers to the peculiar atmosphere of the *Kneipe*, which reminds, with a nostalgic gesture, the vanished world of the GDR. Visiting the street where the photograph was taken, it is hard to recognize the building depicted in the postcard (figure 84). On the site where the old bar used to be, is currently located an Italian restaurant and no place in the surroundings resembles even lightly the atmosphere captured by the postcard.

After analyzing this set of postcards it is clear that the subcultural scene of squats constitute a powerful magnet that attracts the attention of, at least, a sector

¹⁶⁹ Eva Lenz & Reinhard Kleist, "Amerika", 2010, <http://www.reinhard-kleist.de/?lang=de§ion=2&subsection=17>

¹⁷⁰ Based on a mention in a blog in Internet we know that the *kneipe* was still there in 2000. It is currently located in the *Kleine-Präsidenten Straße*, close to the *Monbijou Park*.

of tourists who visit the city, and as such is represented in the postcards with all their symbols and clichés, trying to fit into the imaginary that tourists are willing to consume. All the photographs described here were taken about ten to twenty years ago. Even if we take into consideration that the producers of postcards try to sell their images as long as possible, in this case we see a clear intention of selling old images. The photographs taken by the photo journalist Pierre Adenis, for example, were taken on the 1990s, and it is unlikely that the postcards were produced at that time, thus then the squat scene was alive and it seems dubious that someone was interested in buying a postcard of a neglected building. Therefore, it is plausible to think that such places became marketable only when they began to disappear. These postcards do not sell a souvenir of an actual place that was visited for the tourist, as usually postcards are intended to be, but the myth of a feature that supposed to be characteristic of Berlin, but that is actually almost extinct.¹⁷¹

On the other hand, it is also interesting that the postcards' producers chose those pictures where diverse symbols of radical political activism appear. The façade of *Kreuzlinger Strasse*, for example, could have been photographed in its current state, but the old picture has more political elements fitting with the imagery of what anti-establishment projects should be. Similarly, symbolical elements linked with the imagery of the GDR are also preferred: the red hammer and sickle in the *Adalbertstrasse*, the old *trabi* in *Tucholsky Strasse*, the 'Ost-zone' sign in *Auguststrasse*, the neglected grey façades, or the presence of

¹⁷¹ During the last twenty years the squatter movement has diversified. Most of the remaining squats are less radical than they used to be, many have achieved some sort of rental agreement with the property owner and many other were cleaned away. Some like *Tacheles*, were fully commercialized and state sponsored. Others continue to fight the city and private developers, resist forced eviction attempts, and continue to network in political activities. Carr, "Social Spatial Borders", 70.

improvised elements like the bathtub in *Kastanienallee*, the skull-sculpture in Tacheles or the trabi-pot; all of them objects unlikely to be found in such locations nowadays. The imaginary of these postcards attempts to revive a legendary time which many tourists are willing to experience when visiting the city, but that in most of the cases is vanished.

The same interest for the alternative scene in Berlin is also present in figure 85, which shows a postcard of the cinema *Intimes*, a small old cinema located in Berlin- *Friedrichshain*. The cinema's façades are covered with graffiti and stickers, which represent the intense street art scene of the neighborhood. In addition, the cinema represents the *Kiez* culture with a non-commercial, small neighborhood cinema, in opposition to the commercial cinema chains. The postcard is edited by *Mauerpix*, a small business of Portuguese photo journalist Ricardo Nuno, who commercializes his shots of curious and marginal places of Berlin in photographs, posters and postcards. Rather than picturing touristic landmarks, Nuno's photographs try to capture details, atmospheres and spontaneous street views. Similar postcards have become increasingly common in the recent years, probably due to an increase of what Johannes Novy has described as 'New Urban Tourism', a sector of visitors looking for experiencing the 'authentic' taste of the city and its everyday life, rather than visiting landmarks and sightseeing.¹⁷² According with Novy & Huning, this kind of tourists are

¹⁷² Johannes Novy, "What's New about New Urban Tourism," in *The Tourist City Berlin: Tourism and Architecture*, ed. Jana Richter (Salenstein, London: Braun; Thames & Hudson [distributor], 2010); Johannes Novy and Sandra Huning, "New Tourism (Areas) in New Berlin," in *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism off the Beaten Track*, ed. Robert Maitland and Peter Newman, Routledge Studies in Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility (London, New York: Routledge, 2009), 87–108; Johannes Novy, "Marketing Marginalized Neighborhoods: Tourism and Leisure in the 21st Century Inner City" (Dissertation, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, 2011); Henning Füller and Boris Michel, "Stop Being a Tourist! New Dynamics of Urban Tourism in Berlin-Kreuzberg," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 4 (2014).

interested in “the area’s social, cultural and physical environment, its atmosphere and small-scale amenities (cafes, galleries, shops, bars and clubs) as well as the myths that surround it”. Contrary to the negative image of passivity attributed to conventional tourists, they advocate for a more interactive and performative model of behavior, blending in the social fabric and patterns of everyday life of the place they visit, thus it is also common that they share many of the lifestyle preferences of residents.¹⁷³ This way, postcards like those produced by Nuno offer a visual representation of the ‘lifestyle brand’ of the neighborhood for these ‘new urban tourists’.¹⁷⁴

Together with other new forms of tourism like ‘Slum-tourism’ or ‘Volunteer tourism’, new urban tourism reflects the interest of some visitors in experiencing the complexity and diversity of the visited destination and for knowing (or at least gazing) ‘the other’, in this case, non-conformist groups with alternative and counter-cultural lifestyles.¹⁷⁵ This interest in urban subcultures is not new, as also Novy & Huning observe, thus since the time before the fall of the Berlin Wall, tourist buses regularly drove by the area of *Kreuzberg* to let tourists have a glance at the squatted buildings and its counter-cultural atmosphere.¹⁷⁶

Figure 86 shows a postcard depicting the enormous graffiti painted by Italian street-artist *Blu* and the French JR, in an empty plot in the *Cuvrystrasse*,

¹⁷³ Novy and Huning, "New Tourism", 108.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 96–97.

¹⁷⁵ Slum Tourism is a relative new form of tourism in globalizing cities of developing countries like Brazil, South Africa, Cairo, Mexico or India, consisting in visiting the most disadvantaged parts of the city with the aim of experiencing the reality of a country’s culture and resident’s living conditions. In ‘Volunteer tourism’, by its part, people pay to volunteer in development or conservation projects. See: Manfred Rolfes, “Slumming: Empirical Results and Observational-Theoretical Considerations on the Background of Township, Favela and Slum Tourism,” in *Tourist Experience: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone, Routledge Advances in Tourism 19 (London, New York: Routledge, 2011), 59; Bianca Freire-Medeiros, *Touring Poverty*; Bianca Freire-Medeiros, *Touring Poverty*, Routledge Advances in Sociology (Routledge, 2013) <http://slumtourism.net/>; Mary Conran, “They Really Love Me! Intimacy in Volunteer Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 38, no. 4 (2011).

¹⁷⁶ Novy and Huning, "New Tourism", 107.

in Berlin *Kreuzberg*.¹⁷⁷ The graffiti presents two human figures placed face to face, uncovering each other's face (figure 87), representing meeting and understanding between East and West, as it is indicated by the letters that every figure form with his fingers. The mural is quite popular and has been used as a cover for books where street art is the subject, and also in the main banner in the section 'street art' of the website visitberlin.de.¹⁷⁸ This way the selected motif for the postcard is an easily recognizable symbol of the street art scene. The picture was taken at ground level, a little inclined to include the street-name sign. Several posters and stickers, both on the walls and on the signpost, highlight the street character of the picture, resembling a still photo of a movie. Behind the mural of Blu and JR, we see other graffiti, partially covered by the mural, with the slogan "Reclaim your city",¹⁷⁹ and the signature of 'Just', a Berlin based artist, blogger and photographer.¹⁸⁰ In addition, the depicted plot is also linked to other symbolical meanings, like the active opposition that neighbors held to the installation of the 'Guggenheim Lab' on April 2012, which resulted in the decision of sponsors of relocating the project to a less politically active area in *Prenzlauer Berg*.¹⁸¹ The plot is nowadays occupied as a temporary camping site of homeless people and foreigners.¹⁸² This way, the image in the postcard contents a variety

¹⁷⁷ The graffiti was created in the frame of the third Backjumps Festival (2007), organized by the *Kunstraum Kreuzberg Bethanien* and sponsored by *Hauptstadtkulturfonds*. It was part of the exhibition "Planet Prozess", in which forty artists from twelve different countries shown their work. Kito Nedo, "Planet Prozess. Street Art," *Art. Das Kunst Magazine*, July 25, 2007; Artitude e.V., "Planet Prozess! Zwischen Raum und Kunst", accessed June 24, 2014, <http://www.urbangrassroots.net/downloads/pressemappeEngl.pdf>

¹⁷⁸ Berlin Tourismus & Kongress Gmbh, "Street Art", accessed June 24, 2014, <http://www.visitberlin.de/de/sehen/museen-kunst/street-art>

¹⁷⁹ 'Reclaim your city' is the name of a collective founded in 2003, and dedicated to register street art in Berlin and to integrate a digital archive and a network of those anonym artists engaged with appropriating street signs and walls. <http://reclaimyourcity.net>

¹⁸⁰ <http://1just.de>

¹⁸¹ Sidney Gennies, "Brache in der Cuvrystraße: Zeltstadt statt Guggenheim-Lab," *Der Tagesspiegel*, June 14, 2012.

¹⁸² "Cuvry-Brache. Das Blog zur Brache", last modified July 22, 2013, <http://cuvrybrache.blogspot.de>

of visual references to street art, but also to counter-cultural practices tinged with political activism and contestation.

Figure 88 shows a postcard of another graffiti originally located in *Köpenicker Strasse*, also in Berlin-Kreuzberg. The text on the graffiti is a line of Karl Liebknecht, frequently quoted by leftists, that reads: “The border does not go between nations, but between up and down”. The phrase was visible on one of the walls of the squat *Köpi*, probably till 2007, when the construction of a building in the adjacent plot covered it. Just like the former example, the postcard mix a variety of elements, like the naked bricks of the wall, the improvised graffiti, the scaffold on the foreground, the television tower on the background, and the political connotation of the slogan, that mingle a visual representation of the neighbor’s contesting character.

The postcard on figure 89 presents an even more radical image of the neighborhood. It shows a demonstration in the corner of *Oranienstrasse* and *Adalbertstrasse* in Berlin-Kreuzberg. In the foreground we see several anti-riot policemen surrounding a group of people gathered on the street, while on the background the distinct buildings of that part of the city come into view. The title (Berlin, Last Minute) does not explain explicitly what the postcard is about, but the combination of two symbolic elements (anti-riot police and distinctive Kreuzberg’s buildings) makes it easy to identify that the photograph refers to the annual demonstration of May the 1st. Both the travel agency and the grocery shop in the middle of the picture do not exist anymore, so it is unlikely that a visitor, who spent only a few days in the city, would actually recognize the picture in the postcard as a place that he or she visited. This way, the postcard depicts an ‘event’, rather than a place: the demonstration and the riots of May the 1st, which

turned to be a sort of political 'tradition' in the city. Furthermore, the title of the postcard is in English, so the postcard might appeal to foreign visitors, interested in the political-historical tradition of the neighborhood.

The interest for this political tradition has grown to such an extent in the recent years, that an increasing offer of 'alternative tours' has emerged with convincing slogans directed to visitors like: "Explore the gritty, grungy, underground of the city that Berliners love", or "Witness the clash between corporate expansion & counter-culture."¹⁸³ These tours specialize on bringing visitors to 'alternative' spots related to street art, nightlife, and 'cool' districts; but also to other less conventional places, linked to social and political issues: "Backstreets and Urban Conflict Zones", "Protests, Riots & Demos", and "Controversy, Gentrification and Urban Development" are some of the names of such tours. The website, Alternativeberlin.com for example, promotes tours oriented "to show other responsible, respectful and open minded people the raw and artistic side of this great city. To support the places we love and which we felt needed our help before they were swallowed up and changed forever."¹⁸⁴ 'Revolutionary Berlin', by its part, offers guided walks with 'serious lefties' interested in explaining to visitors what is going on with the left scene in the city (figure 90).¹⁸⁵

The interest in this phenomenon has not escaped the attention of the media either. In an article of section 'Travel' in the British newspaper *The*

¹⁸³ "Alternative City Tour", webpage of Sandemans New Europe-Berlin, accessed June 24, 2014, <http://www.newberlintours.com/daily-tours/alternative-city-tour.html>

¹⁸⁴ "Alternative Berlin Tours", website of Alternative Berlin, accessed June 24, 2014, <http://alternativeberlin.com/about>

¹⁸⁵ "Revolutionary Tours", website of Revolutionary Berlin, April 1, 2014, <http://revolutionaryberlin.wordpress.com/>; John Riceburg, "Walk don't Burn: Revolutionary Walking Tours," *Exberliner*, April 29, 2013; Hollersen, "May Day Tourism".

Guardian, the journalist describes a visit to two squats in Berlin as follows: "All my preconceptions of what a squat might be like fly out the window; it is clean, unthreatening and has a community feel". The author highlights the open character of such places to tourists, who frequently heard about them by word to mouth. "It was like an urban legend so I was surprised when it actually existed", affirmed one of the persons that the journalist interviewed.¹⁸⁶ These testimonies confirm two important assumptions related to tourism: firstly, that tourism is dominated by the preconceptions that the traveler brings with him/her about the place to visit; and secondly, that the visitor will be trying to confirm his/her assumptions by experiencing a direct contact with the everydayness of the visited place.

The postcards of the 'alternative' Berlin capture visual images and symbols related to the subcultural scene of the city, like colorful graffiti, provisional furniture, naked walls and dilapidated buildings, and offer them to be consumed by a specific segment of tourists. Similar elements to those in the postcards appear also in the advertising imagery of the 'alternative tours' (figures 90 and 91).

The production of the postcards analyzed in this section obeys to a pattern of consumption, referred by Urry as 'Post-fordist differentiated consumption', which is characterized by rejecting the conventional purchase of little differentiated and mass-produced commodities.¹⁸⁷ Based on this, a 'new tourism' or 'post-tourism' has emerged among those visitors who avoid the officially sanctioned touristic places, visited by the masses. This desire of something 'different' fits with the world views of subcultures who, as Dick Hebdige has

¹⁸⁶ Molly Gunn, "Welcome to Berlin's Squat Scene," *The Guardian*, July 12, 2009.

¹⁸⁷ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 14.

already established, have as main motivation “an urge for something else”, or the wish to find a “chance to escape from the common culture”.¹⁸⁸ The postcards of the ‘alternative’ Berlin offer the chance to gaze upon some places, projects and practices of the alternative scene that may be difficult for common tourists to reach, either because they do not exist anymore, or because they are highly closed to the sight of outsiders, or because the visitor might not be familiar with the circuits and cultural codes they follow. In some other cases they present places that the visitor might have visited, and from which he/she may wish a visual *memento* that makes his/her feel part of the phenomenon.

The proliferation of alternative tours and the type of postcards that we described here are examples of the neutralization, mystification and commoditization of subcultures and their symbols. Such products sell an easy access to the myth constructed around the Berlin of the nineties, the ‘Wild East’, the squat scene, the counter-cultures, the radical political contestation, the non-conformism, the bohemian lifestyle, in brief the myth of the ‘alternative’ Berlin.

I would like to close this section with one more image that helps to reinforce this argument. Figure 92 shows a postcard that combines a set of four different images. On the left upper side we see the façade of a shop called “East Berlin”. The name of the shop is written directly on the wall with a distinctive typography all over the rough wall and the adverts give the shop a rakish look of a small neighborhood shop with ‘eastern charm’. It is simple, not luxurious, and not mass-produced. The same can be said of the image on the right upper side. It shows a yellow chair and table with some fresh flowers on the center of a coffee shop. The flashy color and ‘vintage’ style of the furniture represent also a typical coffee shop

¹⁸⁸ Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1993 [1979]).

in *Prenzlauer Berg*, with a 'unique' flair. The photo booth on the right bottom of the postcard, by its part, represents a vintage-nostalgic form of entertainment, recently in trend in Berlin. In a time of digital photography, these machines from the 1960's, producing black & white pictures, boast a retro-charm that is very popular among young people who party in the trendiest neighborhoods of the city.¹⁸⁹ Finally, the picture on the bottom left shows the façade of the *Ka86*, the squat in *Kastanienallee* that I mentioned before. The combination of all the pictures produces an attractive image of a non-typical tourist destination, which offers nonetheless all the elements of a typical one: shopping, leisure activities and a touch of originality to sell the perfect distinctive tourist attraction.

According to Dick Hebdige there are two ways of neutralizing a subculture: either by turning it into commodity, or by trivializing its meaning.¹⁹⁰ In the postcards of this section we observe both. On one hand, the postcard offers a way of visually appropriating the depicted lifestyles and cultural patterns. Even if the depicted place was not actually visited by the tourist, what she/he buys is not the image of a specific place, but a set of recognizable symbols linked to the imaginary mentally built around subcultures. On the other hand, the subculture is emptied of its political meaning (the rejection of private property and the utopia of alternative communal ways of living), remaining only as an empty shell, consisting of a set of symbols. This way the façade of a building with a motto against capitalism can be presented in harmony with some other images of cafes and shops, as part of the same imagery.

¹⁸⁹ "Die Berliner Fotoautomaten sind Kult" states the website berlin.de. Gunda Bartels, "Berliner Photoautomat: Die Geschichte eines Kultobjektes," *Der Tagesspiegel*, April 14, 2012.

¹⁹⁰ Hebdige, *Subculture*, 92–99.

For some scholars, like Van den Berghe & Keyes, the essential ingredient of tourism is exoticism, thus “the tourist seeks an experience that cannot be duplicated in his ordinary place of residence” and “endeavors to make contact with a different reality”.¹⁹¹ This way, Mamiya asserts, that tourist attractions must provide experiences that exploit the differences between the visited culture and the tourist’s own culture.¹⁹² Furthermore, authors like MacCannell and Mellinger have stated that the attraction that many tourists feel for the countryside and rural life obeys to the desire of overcoming the alienation from the nature of their own existences somehow. This way the tourist tries to find in his/her trips something missing in his/her own everyday life.¹⁹³ Similarly, we can see that the postcards of the alternative Berlin offer a glimpse to lifestyles and values that might be exotic or alien for some tourists. When considering this, I start from the assumption that the buyers of these postcards are not the ‘new urban tourists’ described by Novy & Huning, those who share lifestyles and cultural patterns of the subcultures, but those who look for consuming them through visual neutralized and depoliticized images.

In a time when many habitants of the city face the harsh consequences of gentrification and displacement, the gradual neutralization of contesting practices by means of its commercialization as a tourist attraction is not a minor issue. The politics of space represented in these postcards convert a contesting strategy (squatting) in an anecdotal image to be sold, while trivializing and hiding tensions and conflicts. These postcards are an illustration of the process of transforming

¹⁹¹ Van den Berghe, Pierre L. and Charles F. Keyes, “Introduction: Tourism and Re-Created Ethnicity,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 11 (1984): 345.

¹⁹² Mamiya, “Greetings”, 87.

¹⁹³ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 91; Mellinger, “Toward a Critical Analysis”, 765.

the post-reunification Berlin's subcultures in neutralized images or trademarks of the city image as destination.

2.6.8. Berlin under the GDR

The three postcards that I analyze in this section depict motifs related to the GDR. Figure 93 shows a postcard of *Leninplatz* (today *Platz der Vereinten Nationen*) in Berlin *Friedrichshain*. The whole background of the picture is dominated by a close-up of the façade of a *Plattenbau*, while in the left foreground we see the nineteen-meter granite statue of Lenin, designed by the Soviet artist Nikolai Tomski, which was placed in the center of the square in 1970.¹⁹⁴ The presence of two icons of the GDR (the *Plattenbau* and the Lenin statue), besides the inclusion of the street sign with the name of the square on the bottom, makes clear that the goal of the postcard is to bring an image of how the GDR looked like. The postcard does not depict an actual place that the tourists can visit, but an image of the city's past. The selection of the statue as main motif for the postcard may be linked to the imagery of the GDR created by the successful German movie *Good Bye Lenin!* (Wolfgang Becker, 2003). The movie tells the story of Christiane, a fervent communist middle age woman who lived in the GDR and awakes from a coma after the fall of the Wall. In an attempt to shield Christine of the shock of knowing the recent events, her son Alex, managed to hide her mother the collapse of the GDR and to maintain the illusion of an intact East Germany. In one of the most poignant sequences of the movie, Christiane comes

¹⁹⁴ For a further description of the statue's history see: Jan Bartknecht, "Ein Gespenst ging um in Europa.: Der Kommunismus und seine Denkmäler zwischen Verdrängung, Versöhnung und Verschrottung," in *Palast der Republik: Politischer Diskurs und private Erinnerung*, ed. Alexander Schug, 164–78 (Berlin: BWV, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007).

outside the apartment, disoriented by the changes around, and sees an enormous Lenin statue transported by a crane passing before her eyes (figure 94). The removal of the statue appears in the movie as a visual metaphor of the dismantling of the communist regime and the difficulties of Christine to overcome such process. This way, the postcard appeals to previous images that visitors might have about the GDR, like those spread by the movie, in order to attract their curiosity for the extinct communist past of the city.

Besides the symbolical power that the statue gained with the movie, it was also an important referent in the collective memory of East Berliners, and constitutes, according to Paul Sigel, the “best known case of post-Reunification iconoclasm”.¹⁹⁵ The statue was removed in 1991, so the postcard brings back, at least by means of a photograph, the ‘real’ image behind the movie. The postcard portraits neither the actual place, nor the event of the statue’s removal, but the time when it was standing and was part of the everyday life of people living in the surrounding buildings. This way it may be regarded as an attempt to rescue it from historic oblivion and make visible what has been erased from the urban landscape.¹⁹⁶

Figure 95 shows another postcard of an extinct place from the GDR era: the *Palast der Republik*. It was shot by night and fully illuminated in 1982. The

¹⁹⁵ “Der Abriss des Berliner Lenin-Denkmal 1991 war wiederum sicherlich der prominenteste Fall von Nachwende-Ikonoklasmus. Dieser Vorgang von hoher symbolischer Kraft ist als Erinnerungsbild bis heute im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Stadt”. Paul Sigel, “Der Umgang mit Denkmälern aus DDR-Zeit,” Goethe Institut, accessed March 23, 2013, <http://www.goethe.de/kue/arc/dos/dos/zdk/de204232.htm>.

¹⁹⁶ A few attempts to restore the statue as a historical relic have caused great controversy and were stopped in 2003 and 2005. In 2005 for example, the then culture Senator Thomas Flierl (PDS) called for a museal restoration of the monument, which found severe protests among the coalition of CDU and FDP, who argued: „Linke Geschichtsideologie gehört genau dahin, wo sich das Lenin-Denkmal jetzt befindet – tief in der Erde vergraben“ (Leftist historical ideology belongs exactly to the place where the Lenin monument is, buried deep underground). *Tages Anzeiger*, “Lenins Statue erhält wieder einen Ehrenplatz in Berlin,” July 7, 2009.

quality of the picture is not quite good and the old colors give it a retro look. In this postcard we find another symbol of the GDR, unattainable for the contemporary visitor, since the entire building has vanished and the spot is only recognizable for the television tower on the background. The postcard depicts the building as a relic, with no people or cars around, even in the parking lot. Though the lights are on, the building is not shown as a public building, frequented and used by people, but as a piece of History.

Another postcard shows the monument of Marx and Engels (figure 96), designed by Ludwig Engelhardt and placed in 1986 in the center of the Marx-Engels Forum. In the background we see the windows of the *Palast der Republik*, while at the base of the statue we read a spontaneous graffiti that states: "Wir sind unschuldig" (We are not guilty). Unlike the Lenin's statue in *Friedrichshain*, the Marx-Engels statue was conserved and it still stands in the square for which it was originally designed, though it has been temporarily removed to a less central area, in one of the square's corners, due to the construction works of the line U5 of the subway. In spite that the editors could have used a contemporary shot of the monument, they selected a shot from 1990, probably because of the graffiti. The play between the monument and the graffiti suggests a critical commentary about the fall of the GDR and the vindication of its ideological premises. The graffiti can be read as an exculpatory statement of the failure of the socialist utopia.

With these examples in view, it is possible to assert that these souvenirs are an attempt to bring some of the removed elements of the GDR back, though banished after the reunification of the city. I already established that many tourist select Berlin as destination due to the interest that its history awakes, so it is

natural that visitors want to encounter a way to come closer to those vanished times, specially to the communist era, which arose a special fascination amongst some western visitors. But, what remains of the GDR? After reunification many monuments and emblematic places of the GDR were shattered and the names of many streets were also changed. This way, many symbols of the GDR exist only in pictures, and it is only by means of pictures that visitors can grasp them. The postcards might be a way of reestablishing them, at least in images. In these postcards, the Lenin statue is back on the Leninplatz; the Marx-Engels statue recovered again its central spot, with the *Palast* behind, and the own *Palast* is also restored. The postcards recover symbolically the lost past and offer the illusion of going back to the extinct GDR. It is always striking to look at postcards displayed in souvenir shops and seeing images of vanished GDR buildings, side by side with the brand new pieces of architecture of the New Berlin. According to Sadowski, the trend of nostalgia for the East is a manifestation of the political, economic and social inequalities, whose discussion has been suppressed of the political terrain, and that finds expression in the cultural domain only.¹⁹⁷

2.6.9. The Berlin Wall

The Berlin Wall is probably the most recurrent motif in postcards sold in souvenir shops in Berlin. One of the main reasons for visitors to select Berlin as their destination is the desire of visiting the real place where the Wall stood. In this section I analyze four postcards that have the Berlin Wall as main motif. The first postcard (figure 97) shows a view of the *Brandenburger Tor* and the *Pariser Platz*, with the Wall bordering it. The view goes along *Unter den Linden* to end in

¹⁹⁷ Sadowski-Smith, "Ostalgie", 3.

the *Palast der Republik*. In the background we see a cityscape integrated by the silhouettes of the International Trade Center (*Internationales Handelszentrum*), the *Interhotel* in Alexanderplatz (today *Park Inn*), the *Fernsehturm*, the *Berliner Dom*, and the *Rathaus*. The surface of the Wall appears clean, free of graffiti and covered with a green layer of paint, matching the copper color of the Quadriga and the ceilings of the guard houses on each side. Figure 98 shows a section of the Wall in Waldemarstrasse in *Kreuzberg*. The Wall was photographed in perspective, interrupted at the right side of the image by a building. The Wall is covered with colorful faces painted by the graffiti artist Kiddy Citny, while the strip in front of the Wall is covered with weed. Figure 99, by its part, shows a section of the Berlin Wall close to Checkpoint Charlie, covered with graffiti by the German painter and graphic designer Siegfried Rischar. In 1984 the Mauer Museum in Checkpoint Charlie organized an art competition under the motto “Overcoming the Wall by painting the Wall” (*Die Überwindung der Mauer durch Bemalung der Mauer*). The jury received 288 sketches and prized 30. Rischar won the third prize with the painting in the postcard. On the background we see the old red brick building of *Bethanien*, while the foreground dominates the painting: a crack on the Wall, with a wounded by barbed wire hand emerges, holding a rose. The hand struggle to reach another hand on the other side, which also reaches out, tied by a rope. The graffiti is an obvious reference to ideas of oppression, liberty and hope linked to the Wall.

It is interesting that many of the images of the Berlin Wall captured in postcards are not the remaining segments that can be actually visited in *Potsdamer Platz*, *Bernauer Strasse* or *Niederkirchnerstrasse*, but historical shots highlighting the symbols associated to it: colorful graffiti, isolation of former central

places, messages of freedom or imagery linked to the East. As Rossetto pointed out, the Berlin Wall was one of Berlin's major attractions even before its fall, but since 1989/1990, despite it has been almost completely removed from the city, its tourist appeal has increased enormously.¹⁹⁸ The Berlin Wall is almost absent from the city, however its image is always present and fascinates, mainly because of all the symbols and myths associated to it, than for its mere physical presence, and that is why it is represented this way.

The only postcard in this group showing a contemporary view of the Wall is a photograph of the East Side Gallery (figure 100). The main motif of the picture is a souvenir shop that sells clichés and paraphernalia of the GDR. There is a jeep in the foreground which gives the idea of expedition and adventure, and that advertises a boat hostel with the slogan "Eastern comfort". Behind the ship we see the souvenir shop with several kitschy references to the divided city: A watch tower with five caricaturized watchers, a sign offering the stamping of passports (like entering the GDR), a Wall woodpecker (*Mauerspechte*) chipping off the Wall, and a caricature of the NVA officer Conrad Schumann, who jumped over the barbed wire fence that marked the borderline between East and West in *Bernauer Strasse* during the construction of the Berlin Wall (1961). On top of the Wall we see the image of the so called 'Fraternal kiss' between Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker, both in its photographic version (shot by French press photographer Regis Bossu in 1979) and the graffiti made by the Russian artist Dimitri Vrubeln ("My god help me to survive this deadly love") in 1990. Then we see the emblematic graffiti of a blue *Trabi* crossing the Wall, painted by Birgit Kinder in 1990 in the East Side Gallery. There is also a sign with the flags of the

¹⁹⁸ Tania Rosetto, "Embodying the Map: Tourism Practices in Berlin," *Tourist Studies* 12, no. 1 (2012): 33–34, accessed August 23, 2013.

allies and, finally, on the right extreme, a graffiti of the *Brandenburger Tor* with the Wall crossing in front. The postcard is a conglomerate of symbols and clichés of the imagery around the GDR and the Wall, trivialized as tourist products.

2.7. Conclusions

The city image found in the postcards that I described in this chapter shares a number of similarities with the city advertised in the *Be Berlin* campaign. Both portray places and buildings casting similar functions of the city: Berlin as the capital city of a democratic Germany, Berlin as prosperous and modern business center, and Berlin as cultural metropolis. Both also underline the rich historical tradition of the city, and its vocation as a creative metropolis, where alternative and spontaneous cultural expressions flourish. On the other hand, the city imagery represented in the postcards incorporate two elements absent in the campaign: the subcultures and the communist past.

Both the campaign and the postcards also share an idealized image of the city, where divergent elements are placed together, shaping a harmonic city image. Different practices, sectors and places co-exist in the city, without interfering one with the other or entering in conflict; on the contrary, they complete each other. Images of modern corporate buildings and state-of-the-art transportation complement the picture of a powerful capital city, while a wide offer of shopping spots, restaurants and leisure, associated to middle- and upper-class patterns of consumption, reinforce the image of economic prosperity. At the same time, a rich cultural offer and the distinctive qualities of the city fit the ideal of a great cosmopolitan metropolis. This way postcards offer an idealized image of

the city, one simplified and devoid of any complexity or contradiction. I shall return to this topic later.

Just like in the advertising campaign, architecture plays a relevant role in postcards too. Buildings are presented as symbols of the attributes wished to be underlined: a vigorous and democratic unified nation, a thriving economy, a modern metropolis, and so on. Architecture is also presented as the material evidence of the historical events that the city has passed through, and is therefore portrayed as material for tourist sights. At the same time, dilapidated buildings, covered with graffiti, are shown as symbols of the subcultural scene. Regardless of the meaning intended to be linked with architecture, it is presented from the point of view of its symbolic value.

As I mentioned before, tourism has been described by some scholars as a modern equivalent of a spiritual quest in “other times and in other places”, where tourists look for the ‘non-ordinary’.¹⁹⁹ Under this perspective, visitors get some kind of compensation during their holidays to turn the sense of entanglement they face in their daily life lighter by getting in touch with images, lifestyles and experiences that are not usually available for them.²⁰⁰ In this fashion, postcards highlight those distinctive features of the city that may be linked to its identity and that are hard to be found in other places: the buildings of the German government, monuments and historical places, but also squats and subcultural expressions.

¹⁹⁹ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 148; Eric Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988): 373.

²⁰⁰ As Waitt & Head have pointed out, several authors like Lefebvre (1991), Baudrillard (1983; 1988), and Giddens (1991) have, in different ways, theorized tourism as a response to a sense of estrangement from instantaneous time and undifferentiated place, which characterizes modern society. Waitt and Head, “Postcards”, 325.

Similarly, the images included in postcards appeal to produce tranquilizing feelings in the viewer, by offering, for example, an optimistic interpretation of the tragic history of the city or showing idealized images of spontaneity and authenticity embodied in the subcultures and other communitarian projects. The positive feelings that arise from images that suggest a historical development directed towards a better future, or showing places where an authentic-spontaneous life is possible, make the trip a more interesting and meaningful experience.²⁰¹

This way, we observe that complex urban, cultural and societal phenomena are simplified to fit the expectations of tourists. Albers and James pointed out that the cultural motifs presented by the travel industry are usually sanitized and divorced from any association with the real, lived-in conditions of the depicted subjects. This way, motifs are mystified and shown out of their historical context, manipulated in the interests of a commodity-oriented leisure travel industry, in which experience is collapsed into an easily managed and marketable set of appearances.²⁰² In the postcards described in this chapter, we see a collection of stereotypes and symbols of desired experiences, while the social relations and tensions behind its production are hidden. The tourism industry collaborates to promote a harmonic image of the city, where social conflict and the complexity of memory and identity issues are silenced to favor an optimistic image of the city in the public imaginary. This way, the lifestyle of newcomers in trendy neighborhoods like *Prenzlauer Berg* is exalted, but the

²⁰¹ Among the causes of entanglement in modern life Bryan Turner includes: a sense of historical decline, sense of absence or loss of moral certainty, sense of the loss of individual freedom and autonomy, disappearance of genuine social relationships, sense of loss of simplicity, authenticity, and spontaneity. Bryan S. Turner, "A Note on Nostalgia," *Theory, Culture & Society* 4, no. 1 (1987): 150–51.

²⁰² Albers and James, "Travel Photography", 153–54.

connection of their lifestyles with the displacement of disadvantaged population is hidden. The absorption of alternative culture for the mainstream is also ignored, as well as the historical issues related to the memory and identity of East-Berliners who lived in the GDR.

The approach that postcards take in regards to historical issues matches with the description of Robert Hewison of the “heritage industry”, as a “sanitized and commercialized version of the past” produced as a form of entertainment. Through “heritage industry”, Hewison asserts, “we have no understanding of History in depth”, but instead it offers “a contemporary creation, more costume drama and re-enactment than critical discourse”.²⁰³

According to John Frow the main product is offered by the tourism industry is a commodified relation to ‘the other’.²⁰⁴ With a targeted public divided between international tourists and domestic visitors, ‘the other’ represented in the Berlin postcards are both Germans (for international visitors) and Berliners (for domestic visitors). In order to represent what supposed to be typically German or distinctive of Berlin, the postcards appeal to a variety of symbols linked to identity and History. However, such symbols are not problematized, nor linked to contemporary issues, appearing as unproblematic and timeless. The tourism industry makes use of clichés that simplify the complexity of reality to its most elemental meaning, endowing and reinforcing myths: the myth of the divided city, with its heroic stories of escapes and death; the myth of the communist World as a distant and utopian alien world; the myth of the city that revived from its ashes after the war; the myth of restored democracy after the fall of the communist dictatorship; the myth of the frontier city with its blooming, spontaneous and

²⁰³ Hewison, *The Heritage Industry*, 135.

²⁰⁴ John Frow, “Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia,” *October* 57 (1991): 150.

contesting subculture scene; and the myth of a booming economy, recovered miraculously from destruction and ruin.

As Roland Barthes pointed out on his seminal essay on myths, myths abolish the complexity of human acts, giving them the simplicity of essences, doing away with all dialectics, and organizing a world without contradictions.²⁰⁵ This way, the harmonic city image promoted by postcards, becomes an ideological image, stripping the social space of contradictions and tensions, and placing side by side dissimilar elements, as government buildings, historical memorials and sites of contestation, and leveling them under the generic label of touristic sights. According to Barthes, the language of myths is also the language of bourgeois ideology, thus ideology “continuously transforms the products of history into essential types” and obscures “the ceaseless making of the world”. Myths, he asserts, immobilizes the world, suggesting and mimicking “a universal order which has fixated once and for all the hierarchy of possessions”. This way, myths give a natural justification to any historical intention, and make contingency appear eternal.²⁰⁶ This is precisely the type of discourse that we observe in Berlin postcards. On one hand, the subcultures are represented as fossils or relics: timeless, motionless, dead. They are devoid of all political meaning and transformed in empty images, in object-spectacles to be visually consumed. On the other hand, the ‘Then & Now’ postcards show historical pictures of the post-war and Cold-War eras, presenting them as an anomaly, justifying by these means the current order as restoration of normality, as the return of the original order of things.

²⁰⁵ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies: Selected and Translated by the French by Annette Lavers* (New York: The Noonday Press-Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1991 [1972]), 143.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 142.

The picture postcards presented in this chapter are an integral part of popular imagery about the city. As such, the myths that they disseminate and the way they depict the landscape are a key element in the process of construction of narratives of place and the construction of the city image. Nevertheless, the images they spread are far of being neutral or apolitical. As I have argued, they act as ideology and, in that sense, are quite similar to those images spread by the *Be Berlin* campaign. At the end, both offer a complacent image of the city from a bourgeois point of view, and “demand that all men recognize themselves in this image”.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ Barthes, "Mythologies", 142–43.

3. The Lived City: Contested Spaces and Resistance Practices

As we read in chapter one, the city image is a key element for the local government, who invests a great portion of money to advertise a city image according to its values and aims. The dissemination of a certain city image is key to influence the way people conceive and perceive the city and its social and power structures. Nevertheless, there is a wide variety of groups who do not feel represented in the official image and that experience and live the city space under different values. These users make “innumerable and infinitesimal transformations” in the dominant cultural economy “in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules”.²⁰⁸

On his book *The Production of Space* (1991) Henry Lefebvre describes three realms to understand and to experience space: Conceived space, perceived space and lived space. Being the first one the abstract space designed by planners and architects, and the second one the material place unfolded from the first, I will focus in this chapter on the third aspect, the lived space. The lived space is the space of the users, the space experienced on an everyday life basis. It emerges as a result of people using space to perform the necessities of daily life.²⁰⁹ The description of the city image drafted in the former chapters would not be complete without a description of the variety of practices by which users appropriate the space conceived by planners and decision-makers. These practices reflect social dynamics and power structures that will enrich our comprehension of the complexity of the urban image.

²⁰⁸ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 66.

²⁰⁹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33, 38-39.

Since it is not possible to represent the wide variety of points of view of every user, I have selected a sample of images created by citizen movements that react against official urban projects, in order to contrast them with the governmental image presented on the first chapter. My interest is to know the divergences and conflicts between the official image and that of the users. Since only a reduced elite of planners, architects and decision makers influences, determines and designs the image of the city, I will aim at detailing the description of the point of view of those having less visibility and power in this chapter. Though there are many groups who are excluded or have little or no participation at all in the process of shaping and planning the city, they are also present, by means of different practices, filling places with their own worldviews and meanings.

According to Michel de Certeau, there are two oppositional practices in everyday life: strategies and tactics. A strategy is the practice performed by subjects “with will and power” (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution), who own a proper place that serves them as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from them, and where they elaborate theoretical discourses “capable of articulating an ensemble of physical places in which forces are distributed”. A ‘tactic’, on the other hand, is “a calculated action” performed by those who do not possess a “proper locus”, who therefore must play on “a terrain organized by the law of a foreign power”, they operate by “isolated actions” and take advantage of opportunities. Since they have no base where to capitalize their advantages or prepare their expansions, they make use of “the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the property powers”, and insinuate themselves “into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over

entirely". Whereas strategies are able to produce spaces, tactics can only use and divert these spaces. This way strategies bet on place, while tactics bet on time.²¹⁰

Applying the concepts of tactic and strategy to the case of Berlin, we can see architecture and urban planning as strategies of "the subjects with will and power" to create spaces where their world view is materialized and reproduced. On the other hand, the variety of citizen's initiatives described in this chapter would be tactical attempts of those having no power or property to appropriate spaces. How do users make use of places created by a dominant economic order? How do they adapt them to their own interests and their own rules? That is the topic that I address in this chapter.

The following examples illustrate the way these groups perceive, live and represent diverse urban spaces. The images to analyze were taken from brochures, flyers and websites produced by a variety of social movements who, either oppose to a certain urban project or create alternative spaces on their own. The selected materials are as diverse as possible, including its different uses, such as housing, parks, large-scale urban projects, historical sites, community gardens, and cultural projects. These images will be later contrasted with the city image promoted in the *Be Berlin* campaign and with the variety of city conceptions contained in postcards described in chapter two. Through this description I attempt to know the different ways that inhabitants experience the city in their everyday life, and the extent to which they participate on shaping the city space.

²¹⁰ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 30-39, 69-70.

3.1. Gentrification and Displacement: The Creative City vs. the Right of the City

In this section I describe two examples of social movements organized to react against rising rents and displacement. The first group is concerned with the problem of housing and gentrification, while the second rejects an enormous urban project for considering it elitist and committed to private interests only. The main concern of the participants in both cases is the possible displacement of low-income population.

3.1.1. Wir bleiben Alle

The brochure entitled *Wir bleiben Alle* was published in the winter 2010/2011 by a collective of citizens based in the *Kunstquartier Bethanien*, and engaged with the promotion and defense of self-organized spaces, both private and public.²¹¹ The title of the brochure was taken from the motto used in the first protest organized in Berlin against rising rents and displacement in 1992 (which reminds us that these problems have been growing since the immediate years after Reunification). Nevertheless, the campaign that framed the production of this brochure arose in 2007, during the mobilizations in support to the squat *Köpi* in Berlin Kreuzberg and the Youth Center *Ungdomshuset* in Copenhagen, both in danger of eviction.²¹² The main goal of the campaign is to organize a network

²¹¹ There are two former versions of this brochure published in 2008 and 2009, available at <http://wba.blogspot.de>. They define self-organized spaces as non-commercial, open for everybody, and free of surveillance, power and pressure to consume, where every person can develop him/herself. <http://wba.blogspot.de/images/VorstellungderKampagne.pdf>

²¹² Andrej Holm, *Wir bleiben alle! Gentrifizierung - städtische Konflikte um Aufwertung und Verdrängung* (Münster: Unrast, 2010), 67.

of groups and activists engaged with the fight against gentrification, and giving support to self-organized spaces and projects.²¹³

In contrast with the harmonic image of prosperity that the *Be Berlin* campaign shows, this brochure describes the city as the scenario where low-income population fight to endure the increasing menace of displacement, poverty and rising rents. Construction sites for office towers, luxury apartments and shopping centers that in the campaign are presented as a symbol of economic development are described in this brochure as a menace for a segment of the population, and as the cause of a series of negative changes in the city, like increasing surveillance, evictions, police harassment and expulsion of alternative projects. The brochure describes asymmetrical power relations, where a small sector of landlords and real estate corporations benefit from increasing rents, while a great number of tenants face great difficulties to get or to protect themselves from the loss of their homes.

Through several short articles, the text of the brochure describes what is supposed to be an array of paradigmatic stories of typical Berliners in situation of disadvantage, not only in regards to housing, but also in many other aspects, such as culture, education, spending practices and political participation. In those articles the stories of low-income Berliners forced to move from the city center towards the outskirts are constant, revealing that neither the government nor any political party take any action to counteract such tendency.

The cover of the brochure in bright orange shows a black and white photograph of a demonstration in a corner of *Heinrich Platz* in Berlin Kreuzberg

²¹³ <http://wba.blogspot.de/images/VorstellungderKampagne.pdf>

(figure 101).²¹⁴ In the background we see the old buildings, a landmark of this area of the city, while in the foreground we see a line of demonstrators carrying a big banner with slogans in Turkish and German: *Mieten Stopp!* (Stop rents!), *Steigende Mieten stoppen!* (Stop rising rents!). Demonstrators are men and women of different ages, mostly young adults that walk along the street moving forward towards the viewer, giving a sense of collective empowerment. In the middle of the page we see the title of the brochure with big white letters and a black star on the top. Marching behind a banner is the traditional way that trade unions demonstrate, so the picture recalls working-class struggles and tactics for contesting and empowering, similar to the representation of *The Fourth Estate* in Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo's painting (figure 102). The text on the banner acts like a symbol of identity and communicates the demands of the demonstrators. The text, written in German and Turkish, indicates the bi-cultural self-assumed identity of the demonstrators.

There are plenty of banners in other pictures in the brochure. On page 7, for example, we see a photograph of a big white banner on the top of a building stating: *Eine Stadt ist kein Unternehmen* ('A city is not a business', figure 103). The photograph was taken in Hamburg, in the so called *Frappant Gebäude*, an old building in the *Altona* quarter, which used to house a cultural project that was evicted in March 2010 to build a new filial of the Swedish furniture shop *Ikea*.²¹⁵ The banner in the picture is placed on the top of the building like a billboard, but

²¹⁴ *Oranienstrasse* is one of the busiest streets in *Kreuzberg*. The corner of *Heinrich Platz* is located in the center of the local scene with many restaurants and cafes. The high rate of population with immigration backgrounds living in the neighbor makes it more alternative as other trendy quarters like *Prenzlauerberg*, frequented by young families from high to middle income households.

²¹⁵ "Geschichte", website of Frappant e.V., accessed July 24, 2014, <http://frappant.org/frappant-e-v/geschichte>

rather than advertising a product, it addresses a critical statement against the public policies of the local government. The combination of a simple design (big black letters on a white surface) and the straight-forward message of the text is a simple formula selected by the protesters to make their protest visible, which would otherwise be unnoticed. On the other hand, the use of an image of Hamburg, rather than one of Berlin in the brochure, is a way of expressing solidarity with all people affected by gentrification, no matter where, and at the same time, to express the pervasiveness of the problem.

The tactic of placing a banner on the top of a building to attract public awareness reminds the action conducted by activists of the *Umweltbibliothek* to protests for a *razzia* organized by the *Stasi* on the night of 24 November, 1987 in the *Zionskirche* (figure 104).²¹⁶ The text of the brochure recommends explicitly covering buildings with banners, as a tactic to make the public aware of the social struggle they fight for, while several pictures showing this practice are included in different pages of this material (figures 105 and 106). Since tenants (especially those in a disadvantaged position) have little power to make their points be heard, they have to *create* a space of their own on walls and streets.

The rich and the powerful can represent their imaginaries by means of architecture, common citizens on the contrary have no power of representing their worldviews in the cityscape, so they appropriate architecture with banners to

²¹⁶ Although the *Umweltblätter*, as an intern publication of a religious community, was legal, on that night members of the *Stasi* searched the building, arrested seven persons and confiscated materials and machines. The incident was wide covered and spread by the western media, and the library drew public attention as it never did before. It also awakened great interest and solidarity in the GDR, and the seven people arrested that night were liberated afterwards. http://www.bstu.bund.de/DE/Presse/Themen/Hintergrund/20121119_razzia_umweltbibliothek.Html. For an interesting exhibition of banners and posters used during the demonstration on Nov. 4, 1989 in Alexanderplatz see the materials collected by the Deutsches Historisches Museum for the exhibition '4. November 1989. Berlin, Alexanderplatz' at <http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/4november1989/>

reclaim a voice and to make their demands public. This way, the hanging banners substitute any symbolism of architecture with signs of contest and allow their producers to appropriate and modify the city landscape. Though some of the banners are printed, most of them have a spontaneous design with hand-painted texts and a narrative in form of speech (without images). It is as if the banner acted as a sort of speech balloon that makes the discourse and demands of those with no voice visible.

A short text on page 20, describing the way some neighbors in Berlin *Kreuzberg* deal with gentrification, is illustrated with a picture of a man on a suspended platform placing a large poster on a wall (figure 107). The photograph was taken in the corner of *Oranienstrasse* and *Manteuffelstrasse*, where for eleven years a collective called *Plakatief* has placed posters with left oriented political messages.²¹⁷ The poster in the picture was placed on 2007, in occasion of the G8 meeting in *Heiligendamm (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern)*.²¹⁸ The poster announced the 'Convergence Space', a mobilization to provide support to people travelling to Germany to demonstrate against the G8 meeting.²¹⁹ The image selected for the poster shows the face of actress Audrey Tautou in the French movie *Le Fabuleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain* (The Fabulous Destiny of Amélie or *Die fabelhafte Welt der Amélie*, in German. Figure 108). The name of the film was changed in the poster for *Die fabelhafte Welt des Widerstands* (The Fabulous World of Resistance), while a raised fist was also added to the picture with the

²¹⁷ In 2012 the collective celebrated its 11th anniversary and organized an exhibition in the *Meuterei* (Berlin-Kreuzberg, January 28/March 3, 2012). "Plakatief! Die fabelhafte Welt des Widerstands auf einer Kreuzberger Brandwand", website of the *Umbruch Bildarchiv*, accessed July 26, 2014, <http://www.umbruch-bildarchiv.de/bildarchiv/ereignis/plakatief.html>

²¹⁸ "Die fabelhafte Welt des Widerstands", website of the *Umbruch Bildarchiv*, accessed July 26, 2014 http://www.umbruch-bildarchiv.de/bildarchiv/ereignis/g8_convergence_space.html

²¹⁹ They offered food, accommodation, workshops and all kind of information to the demonstrators. "Convergence Space Berlin vom 21.5.07-16.6.07", website of *Convergence Space Berlin*, April 2007, http://csb.nostate.net/conv_eng/index.html

aim of providing it with a combative gesture, which contrasts with the naïve smile of the woman. The 'raised fist' or 'clenched fist' is a popular symbol of the Left that was frequently used since the beginning of the 20th century by trade unions, but that was revitalized in its modern usage by American graphic artist and activist Frank Ciecioraka in the 1960's (figure 109). Ciecioraka's 'clenched fist' has been since then adopted by the New Left, the Black Panthers, Occupy Wall Street, and many other leftist movements.²²⁰ The image of Amelie's raised fist placed by *Plakatief* was apparently created by German students in Hessen in 2006, during the protests against tuition fees, and since then it has been used in many protests in different cities.²²¹ This picture shows again the great importance given by the producers of the brochure to the appropriation of visible spots to gain visibility for their fight. The text of the brochure describes banners as 'signs' that indicate that the city is in struggle.²²²

Another picture on page 11 refers also to the power of slogans placed to public view (figure 110). In the picture two policemen and a policewoman, wearing protective helmets, stand in front of a white wall covered with graffiti calling for a demonstration. The article accompanying this picture warns of the increasing surveillance practices in revitalized neighborhoods, by means of cameras and security agencies in charge of cleaning the public space of unwanted people. This way, the topic of the picture is the authoritative power exercised by police, in this

²²⁰ Lincoln Cushing, "A Brief History of the *Clenched Fist* Image", website of *Docs Populi-Documents for the Public*, January 25, 2006, <http://www.docspopuli.org/articles/Fist.html>; Steven Heller, "Frank Ciecioraka, Designer for the Left, Is Dead at 69," *The New York Times*, November 27, 2008, Art & Design. For the fist motif see: Lutz Heusinger, "Faust," in *Handbuch der Politischen Ikonographie*, ed. Uwe Fleckner, C. H. Beck Paperback (München: Beck, 2011), 293–300.

²²¹ "Fabelhafte_Widerstands-Welt", blog of the group 'Die Fabelhafte Welt des Widerstands!' in the Internet Magazin *Jetzt*, Created on July 9, 2006, http://jetzt.sueddeutsche.de/gruppe/anzeigen/Fabelhafte_Widerstands-Welt

²²² *Wir bleiben Alle*, brochure Winter 2010/2011, p. 22.

case, over the area surrounding a building. But in spite of the protective helmets and the restriction to transit the area for demonstrators or activist, their words finds a way to slip through in the form of graffiti, like a voice that cannot be silenced and that the police cannot force to hide. That is the power of the tactic, it make visible the struggle, while protecting the protesters in anonymity. They do not need to be outside all the time to make their voices heard, their mottos and demands stay there.

Finally, photographs on pages 16 and 17 (figures 111 and 112) show the way that the producers of the brochure perceive their struggle, in relation with the building industry and the authorities of the city. The image on the top left is a black & white graphic showing four arms locked together at the wrists in the foreground. The clothes covering the arms suggest business suits (white shirts and black jacket), while the way they grab each other suggests collaboration. Each arm represents an actor on the process of gentrification: architects, the Senate, speculators and construction companies. In the background we see some apartment buildings, which appear to be watching the viewer from afar, behind the barrier shaped by the arms. The caption states ironically: "Baut teure Häuser, damit die Armen eine Wohnung finden" (Build expensive housing, so that the poor can find a tenement). On the right side of this image, we see another photograph of a street riot. On the foreground we see many stones on the wet pavement, probably used in the scuffle, and the rests of a broken street signal. In the background there is a cloud of smoke and some people in a street fight, probably against the police. On the opposite page, we see a photograph of a group of demonstrators shaping a front line with interwoven arms in a demonstration. They carry banners and flags, some of them smile, some others

shout. The first image in the left page and the photograph on the right page are related, the first one shows anonymous forces acting together to protect their interest and, in contrast, the picture on the opposite page shows enthusiastic citizens united to fight them. The street conflict is in between. The symmetrical and ordered union of hands on the left image contrasts with the spontaneity of the gathering in the picture on the right page. People demonstrating on the photograph of the right page appear cheerful and playful, contrasting with the desolated landscape of the center. The discourse resulting from these photographs might be: there are anonymous forces that restrict the access to housing, but citizens unite their forces too, in order to challenge them; the street fighting is the materialization of this struggle. The text describing the long tradition of squatting and contesting movements in Berlin links the demonstrators in the photographs with a fair struggle for free houses, cheaper electricity and free transport. The play between the images also represents a deeply-polarized society, divided into the rich and the poor, landlords and tenants, the powerful elite and the common citizen. The lifestyles and interests of each of the two sides exclude each other and cannot co-exist side by side.

In all the pictures of the brochure we observe a persistent concern with creating proper spaces of representation for social movements. From taking the streets to demonstrate, to taking the walls of buildings to inscribe each own discourse, one of the main objectives of these activists is to produce a space where they belong. As Don Mitchell has pointed out, “revolution is also a pictorial event” and as such, it “must be represented”.²²³ The activists of *Wir bleiben Alle* brings the issue of the social conflict up and takes it to the street, the terrain of

²²³ Don Mitchell, “The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, no. 85 (1995): 124.

social encounters and political protest; the photographs of the brochure portray their action. Streets and buildings are *robbed*, appropriated from the way that planners and architects design them (*representation of space* In Lefebvre's terminology) and are transformed in the everyday-life space of inhabitants and users (*space of representation*). According to Michel De Certeau, these "ingenious ways" in which "the weak make use of the strong", add "a political dimension to everyday practices".²²⁴ While strategies produce and impose their own spaces, tactics can only use, manipulate, and divert these spaces, since they have no power to produce a space of their own.²²⁵

Another central topic in the brochure is gentrification. In spite of the variety of negative effects that gentrification entails to some sectors of the population, it is often described with a positive connotation in the discourse of planners, using expressions like "urban renaissance", "regeneration" or "social mix".²²⁶ The sparring between these perspectives is easily recognizable when comparing the imagery of the *Be Berlin* campaign and the images of the brochure analyzed in this section. The point of view depends on the economic position of who describes it:

Where politicians, real estate companies and middle classes see it as a means to counter urban decay, attract taxpayers and place localities on the global map of 'creative places', for the urban poor gentrification means rising costs of living, the destruction of their social networks and the risk of being evicted.²²⁷

²²⁴ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 68.

²²⁵ Ibid., 30, 38.

²²⁶ Loretta Lees, "Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?," *Urban Studies* 45, no. 12 (2008); Neil Smith, "New globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy.," *Antipode*, no. 34 (2002). For both scholars the process of gentrification (no matter how it is called) entails always the displacement of low-income population and social polarization.

²²⁷ Matthias Bernt and Andrej Holm, "Is It, or Is It Not? The Conceptualisation of Gentrification and Displacement and its Political Implications in the Case of Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg," *City* 13, 2-3 (2009): 312.

The city image drawn by the *Be Berlin* campaign, inspired in the 'Creative City' promoted by Richard Florida, fosters an elitist model of urban development, designed and implemented from the top, and which covers gentrification beneath the veneer of urban regeneration, presenting it as a natural process and obscuring the displacement of low-income population that it comprises.²²⁸ In contrast, the imagery of the *Wir bleiben Alle* campaign advocates for a more inclusive approach, which considers a wide participation of citizens in the decision-making related to the shaping of urban space. I have called this opposition 'the creative city vs. the right to the city' struggle.²²⁹ The Lefebvrian concept of the 'right to the city' entails "a demand for a transformed and renewed access to urban life", as well as "the exercise of a collective power to reshape the process of urbanization".²³⁰ This right, as Mark Purcell has pointed out, has a class dimension, since inhabitants are described in the Lefebvrian view, to be essentially equivalent to the working-class.²³¹ David Harvey has also underlined this class dimension, since are the poor, the underprivileged and those marginalized from political power, those who almost always suffer first and foremost the negative effects of urban restructuring.²³²

This way the differences between both materials analyzed in this work obeys to a class perspective. While the governmental image of the city celebrates urban regeneration and welcomes the coming of middle and high income classes,

²²⁸ Smith, "New Globalism", 445.

²²⁹ Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville*.

²³⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Writing on Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 158; Harvey, "The Right", 23.

²³¹ Lefebvre, *Writing on Cities*, 158–59; Purcell, "Excavating", 106.

²³² Harvey, "The Right", 33.

the brochure describes the same phenomena as undesirable and threatening.²³³ We find a similar tendency in the following example.

3.1.2. Spreeufer für Alle

The set of images that I describe in this section are part of a brochure created by the citizen's initiative *Mediaspree Versenken* (Flood Mediaspree), entitled *Spreeufer für Alle!* (Spree shore for everyone! figure 113).²³⁴ Such initiative emerged as a direct reaction against the *Mediaspree* project, one of the biggest urban projects in Berlin since its Reunification.

Coming back from the 1990's the Senate of the city projected the construction of a complex of telecommunication and media companies in the area of the banks of the River Spree, between *Jannowitzbrücke* and *Elsenbrücke*, in the limits of *Kreuzberg* and *Friedrichshain*. The project was planned to be built in an old industrial and trade area, abandoned during the Cold War due to its location in the limits of the Berlin Wall. The *Mediaspree* project considers both the reconstruction of old buildings and the construction of new ones, most of them planned as office space, lofts and hotels.

From the very moment that the project was made public it arose wide criticism from citizens, who organized a campaign to demand the protection of the public access to the banks of the river and the inclusion of more areas for public use. In this context the citizen initiative *Mediaspree Versenken* was

²³³ In their analysis of literature about gentrification, Bernt & Holm conclude that the normalization of gentrification as a "form of urban development" in the academic field results in a better acceptance of the phenomenon in the political realm. Bernt and Holm, "Is It", 322–23.

²³⁴ Initiativkreis Mediaspree Versenken! AG, *Spreeufer für Alle!*. Bilanz der Verhandlungen im Sonderausschuss Spreeraum von Oktober 2008 bis Dezember 2009. Hintergründe, Vorschläge, Ergebnisse, <http://www.ms-versenken.org/images/hinterguende/endfassung.pdf>

founded, as a civic organization engaged with defending the interests of neighbors in the area. They started their activities in 2005, based in the art house *Bethanien* (New Yorck), and two years later they presented an alternative project known as *Spreeufer für Alle*, and launched a petition for a referendum. The referendum took place on July 13, 2008 with a partaking of about 30,000 people (19% of the residents of *Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain*), and with more than 86% of the participants supporting the alternative project. Nevertheless, the results have only the category of a recommendation and the government has the final decision of considering it or not.²³⁵ Due to economic circumstances, the original plan has been realized only partially, and the supporters of *Mediaspree Versenken* keep demonstrating and participating in negotiations to this day.

The brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!* opens with a critic of the urban policies applied in Berlin since the 1990's, which are severely questioned for considering that they are mainly oriented to commercialization and to favor investors' interests. The text criticizes the monotonous city image, the scarcity of green spaces, and the abundance of unused office space which result from such policies. Considering this panorama, the brochure underlines the need for a different city concept that considers alternative uses for vacant plots and that does not ponder them as mere potential construction sites. This way, we find that one of the main goals of the pictures in the brochure is to underline the one-dimensional character of the official urban concept, while presenting alternative

²³⁵ The project had slight margins to be modified because the government refused to change all previously approved plans. For both versions of this history see <http://www.ms-versenken.org/> and http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/stadtplanerische_konzepte/leitbild_spreeraum/download/broschuere_spreeraum.pdf. For a resume of the entire process see: Jan Dohnke, "Spree Riverbanks for Everyone! What Remains of "Sink Mediaspree"?", in *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism*, ed. Matthias Bernt, Urban Studies (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 261–74.

possibilities for it. This idea is represented on an image on page 2, where we see an altered image of a model of the failed project for *Alexanderplatz*, designed in 2003 by Hans Kollhoff & Helga Timmermann (figures 114 and 115). The producers of the brochure added black crosses and plants to the skyscrapers of the original model in order to make them look like stone graves, suggesting that urban projects like this represents the death of public space.

Images on pages 4 and 5 (figures 116 and 117) compare the differences between the project *Mediaspree* and the alternative proposal of *Mediaspree Versenken*. Figure 116 shows a graphic where the three main elements of the alternative proposal are described: 1. An open area of 50 meters along the river shore (instead of 10 meters that the *Mediaspree* project considered), 2. No high buildings between the *S-Bahn* and *Köpenicker Strasse*, 3. The elimination of the traffic bridge connecting *Manteuffelstrasse* and the *Strasse der Pariser Kommune*, and the reconstruction of the *Brommysteg* as a pedestrian bridge. The graphic contrasts the official project (top) with the alternative proposal (bottom), characterizing the former by the predominance of high building density and private spaces, while open spaces, greenery and low density predominate in the latter.

The same idea is present in the picture on the opposite page (figure 117), where both concepts are also compared. The official plan (top) shows a dense built surface; while the alternative project (bottom) reduces the new constructed areas (in red), in order to preserve great portions of land as open and public spaces. A yellow dotted line in the second image represents open areas accessible for everyone, instead of predominant new private buildings on the riverfront. The same opposition is shown in graphs on page 7 (figure 118). The

images on the left side belong to the *Mediaspree* project, while those on the right correspond to the alternative proposal. The official project presents monotonous and massive blocks of buildings dominating the landscape, while the alternative project suggest a pedestrians-friendly city with open spaces, greenery and a variety of individual buildings.

In all the cases illustrated along the brochure we see the same recurrent guidelines: privileging open public green areas over private and high-dense constructed ones; supporting social, cultural and non-commercial projects, rather than only corporate uses; constructing buildings targeting different users, not only big investors; and promoting the participation of the neighbors on decision-making. From these guidelines we can reconstruct the kind of city that the members of *Mediaspree Versenken!* imagine and pursue. Such desired city is apparently in conflict with the one that the local government plans and promotes, and the controversy around the *Mediaspree* project is an example of it.

This polarization is visually represented on page 10 of the brochure, where the plans for the plot in *Stralauer Platz* 35 are described (figure 119). On the top, we see the architectural visualization of the so called *Columbus Haus*, a group of three buildings projected by *Mediaspree*. On the bottom we see three colorful pictures of the YAAM (Young African Arts Market), the cultural and social project that until recently dwelled the plot as an interim user (it was relocated to a nearby plot in April 2014). While the image on the top shows standard corporate buildings with no life around, the images on the bottom show relaxed informal spaces where an atmosphere of creativity and the spirit of community prevail. The man working with a shovel in the picture on the right corner is Christian Ströbele, member of the green party and parliamentarian for *Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg*

since 2002.²³⁶ With this picture the brochure communicates the idea of a space created by the users with their own work. The selection of Ströbele is not casual, thus he represents a tradition of local political activism and contest. The same posters used by Ströbele during his campaigns share the childish style of some of the pictures presented in this chapter (figure 120).²³⁷ We will go back to this image later.

The same contrast is represented again in the pictures on page 12 (figure 121). On the left side, the visualization of the *Neue Spreespeicher* (New Spree Warehouses), planned to be constructed in the corner of *Cuvrystrasse* and *Schlesische Strasse*, looks cold and imposing. In contrast, the picture on the right side shows the vacant plot in its current state with a wall on the background covered by the famous graffiti of *Blu* and JR described in chapter two. In the foreground we see a sign of the developer, advertising lofts and retail spaces in the projected building, which reminds the imminent changes coming to the area soon.²³⁸ This way, the image synthesizes two visions: the vacant plot used in an imaginative way as space of free expression (the graffiti), and its future extinction due to new urban plans of its owners.

All the images in the brochure invoke similar oppositions, in which the official projects are described as monotonous, unimaginative, and corporate-

²³⁶ Ströbele was also a defendant of political activists for thirty years, including members of the urban guerrilla group Red Army Faction (RAF) and was involved in the late 1960's student movement. <http://www.stroebele-online.de/>

²³⁷ The author of the poster is the German caricaturist Franziska Riemann. For a commentary of the poster see: Konrad Litschko, "Neues Wahlplakat: Ströbele ändert die Richtung," *TAZ*, July 9, 2013, <http://www.taz.de/!119533/>

²³⁸ The building permit for the construction of the *Neuen Spreespeicher* expired in 2008 and the domain announced on the sign is currently vacant. The mural of BLU was recently covered, apparently by initiative of the own artist, as a political statement against the use of street-art to the service of profits. *Der Spiegel*, "Cuvry-Brache in Berlin: Das Ende der Kult-Graffiti in Kreuzberg," December 12, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/cuvry-brache-in-berlin-das-ende-der-kult-graffiti-in-kreuzberg-a-1008095.html>

friendly, while the alternative proposal is always flexible, spontaneous and open to the community. In figure 122, for example, some graffiti was added to a photograph of an improvised grill yard, as a way to represent casual open spaces preferred by some sectors of population with 'alternative' lifestyles, and the sort of spaces that the Citizens Initiative is trying to preserve.

Similarly to the booklet *Wir bleiben Alle (WBA)*, the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!* shows an open rejection to the urban policies of the local government for considering them as elitist. All the images show a concern with preserving public spaces, open to be enjoyed by everyone, and not only by private users. This rejection can be linked to the model of urban governance adopted by the city, characterized by an entrepreneurial approach.²³⁹ Under this new model the government has promoted the construction of great urban projects, with a private profit orientation, but managed by private/public partnerships, which allows that the project receives benefits from the public sector, but without yielding either participation in the decision-making neither democratic control and accountability.²⁴⁰ As Bader & Sharenberg have pointed out, one of the main issues in the *Mediaspree* project has been the change of its legal name from *Mediaspree Berlin GmbH* to *Mediaspree e.V.* (realized in 2004), which changed the status of the association in charge of coordinating the project from a private company (*Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung* or GmbH) to a non-profit company (*eingetragener Verein* or e.V.).²⁴¹ The change is noteworthy since it is

²³⁹ "Entrepreneurialism is about the public sector running cities in a more businesslike manner, in which institutions of local governance operate like the private sector or are replaced by private-sector-based systems". Swyngedouw, Erik, Moulaert, Frank and Arantxa Rodríguez, "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy," *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 578.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 566.

²⁴¹ *Mediaspree e.V.* was dissolved in December 2008. Its activities were continued by a newly constituted 'location community' (*Standortgemeinschaft*), who still operates under the name '*Mediaspree*'.

in fact dominated by real estate interests, but receives the benefits of a company that execute public interests, like taxation exempts and subsidies.²⁴² At the same time, the partnership of property owners and state agencies became responsible for public issues, but precluded the participation of other civil actors, selectively empowering property owners. It “presents itself as serving the ‘public interest’, but is neither democratically controlled nor accountable”.²⁴³ And this is why the citizens reclaim participation, and contest the entrepreneurial policies of the city.

Similarly to the WBA brochure, *Spreeufer für Alle!* shows a strong determinacy to generate a proper space for citizens, but they also reclaim a direct participation in the design of urban and architectural space. At the same time, they support the creation and preservation of interim spaces (*Zwischennutzung*) as counterweight to market-oriented spaces favored by the official urban policies. The defense of such projects is directly linked to the survival of autonomous spaces, created according to the necessities and desires of citizens, where cultural diversity, experimentation and subcultural expressions continue to find room.

The brochure also openly rejects the attempts of the local government to appropriate local peculiarities to turn the area into a location of interest for investors. Novy and Colomb have described this practice arguing that, in Berlin, subcultural capital has been often exploited in urban development policies and carried out in the name of the *creative city*.²⁴⁴ In that sense, the imagery of the

²⁴² In a Registered Association (*eingetragener Verein*) only landowners can be members, and therefore the representatives of the government (Senate), the state of Berlin, the local job center and the Chamber of Commerce are only members of the advisory board with little power. Bader and Bialluch, "Gentrification", 329.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Johannes Novy and Claire Colomb, "Struggling for the Right to the (Creative) City in Berlin and Hamburg.: New Urban Social Movements, New 'Spaces of Hope'?", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37-5 (2013): 1832.

SfA brochure is not only different to the imagery of the *Be Berlin* campaign, but it is also a reaction against it. It is another example of the opposition that I called “Creative City vs. the Right to the City”.

Conversely, comparing the two examples of social movements described in his section, we find that though both WBA and *SfA* are strongly engaged in struggles for space, the use that they give to it is different. WBA endeavors to a traditional cause, by traditional methods: they fight for housing through making public political slogans. *SfA*, by its part, defend spaces which, in view of the pictures in their brochure, are thought as spaces of recreation, and their methods are less orthodox (rallies, media campaigns, Internet campaigns). Do these differences make their fight less engaged in a political way? I will discuss this issue further in the next section.

3.2. The Struggle for Public Space: From State-Controlled Parks to Self-Organized Green Areas

In this section I present two examples of social movements organized with the aim of collaborating with the defense of public space. In both cases, the areas to be protected are green areas: the *Mauerpark*, in *Prenzlauer Berg* and *Tempelhofer Feld*, in the former terrains occupied by the *Tempelhof* airport. In a city like Berlin, where one of the main public issues is the scarcity of affordable housing and increasing rents, how come that two of the most relevant citizen movements in the city are engaged with the defense of leisure areas? Is it a sign of a less radical citizenry? Or is this struggle a manifestation of a key issue in modern democracies? I examine possible answers to these questions from the analysis of the following two examples.

3.2.1. Mauerpark Stiftung Weltbürger-Park

Mauerpark is a popular spot located in a strip of land left by the Berlin Wall in the limits of the working-class district of Wedding and the trendy *Prenzlauer Berg*. The current configuration of the park was designed by landscape architect Gustav Lange in 1992, and built with funds of the city and the Allianz foundation. According to Christophe Girot, during the first years of its existence the park was severely criticized and shunned by the population, suffering from neglect and lack of maintenance.²⁴⁵ But it was precisely when it fell into decay that it started becoming popular among certain sectors of the population, mainly young people of the subculture scene, who felt identified with the “destroyed rawness of the place”, and took the park as scenario for spontaneous events.²⁴⁶ Since then, *Mauerpark* has become one of the most popular spots in the city, not only for young people, but also for tourists and families. With a wide variety of spaces and functions, the park seems to offer something for everyone: from lawns and barbecue spots, to sport facilities, ranging from a flea market with food area, a children’s farm, a climbing wall, an open-air karaoke, area for graffiti artists, and a wide variety of spontaneous street musicians.

However, the construction of the original plan was never completed and several controversies emerged in recent years related to the purchase of land to broaden the surface of the park. In addition, the CA Immo A.G. has made public its intention of building 600 apartments on the northern side of the park (north of the Gleim tunnel) and west of the flea market. For more than ten years the neighbors have organized to demand the completion of the park and the preservation of

²⁴⁵ Cristophe Girot, “Eulogy of the Void: The Lost Power of Berlin Landscapes After the Wall,” *DISP*, no. 156: 35–39.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 35–36.

open green areas, being the foundation *Welt-Bürger Park* (World Citizens Park) the main organization engaged with this struggle.

The brochure that I analyze in this section was published by the *Welt-Bürger Park* foundation, established in 2010 “to prevent construction in and around the Mauerpark in Berlin, to raise funds for the purchase of the areas needed for its completion and extension, and to encourage the public, the public service and all political parties to work together in order to achieve these goals”.²⁴⁷

On the cover of the brochure (figure 123) we see a picture of the park in a sunny day, with mostly young people chatting, reading, eating or simply relaxing. Even if the place is very crowded the atmosphere is quite soothing with plenty of trees in the background. It is an open public space where one can play, drink a beer, eat, rest or meet friends. It is a space that allows spontaneity: there is no dress code, there is no need to buy something, and there is not even a specific activity that one is supposed to perform. Though in the picture we see a basketball backboard, a colorful climbing frame for kids, and some bicycles, most of the people in the picture chat, emphasizing the park’s function as a meeting point.

Similar to the city imagery analyzed in the case of *Mediaspree Versenken*, we find in this brochure the desire for open spaces where the neighbors can meet and work with other members of the community. On section 7 of the brochure (*Interkultur/Multi-etnische Gesellschaft*) for example, the function of the park as a meeting point for people from diverse social and ethnic backgrounds is

²⁴⁷ Its main goal is collecting ten million Euros to purchase the private property required to complete the original project designed by Gustav Lange. Mauerpark Stiftung Welt-Bürger Park, *Der Mauerpark in Berlin* (brochure), available online at: http://www.welt-buerger-park.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/MSWBP_Expose_web_HQ.pdf

highlighted. Their interactions are depicted in several images (figures 125 and 126). Diversity is represented as a natural feature of the park, while social interaction between people of different cultures and social backgrounds is described as harmonic and friendly. On the top left of figure 125, for example, we see a naive image of a black man chatting amicably with a policeman, while in another part of the brochure the text states that in spite of the great number of tourists that visit the park, their presence do not represent a conflict with the residents' right to quietness and tranquility. Notwithstanding that coexistence in the park is far of being free of disagreement, and that the great volume of waste and noise pollution by park's visitors have been object of conflict and regulations by the city authorities during, at least, the last two years, the producers of the brochure chose to present a quite optimistic image, highlighting its qualities as a place where people come together.²⁴⁸

A second topic prevalent is the desire of experiencing nature within the city. This combination of an urban milieu with the bounties of nature is present in several images, and is the topic of the logo of the foundation too (figure 126). On it we see distinctive elements of the city landscape, like the light towers of the adjacent *Ludwig-Jahn Sportpark*, the television tower, the silhouette of the remaining segment of the Berlin Wall, and the distinctive form of the amphitheater, in combination with some trees silhouettes and the green color of the graph. A small picture on section one illustrates the same combination (figure 127), showing on the background the television tower and some apartment buildings, while in the foreground we see oversized flowers and plants, taken at ground level, dominating the view. The desire to enjoy the countryside within the

²⁴⁸ Stefan Strauss, "Mauerpark. Lärm nach Vorschrift," *Berliner Zeitung*, March 8, 2012, <http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/mauerpark-laerm-nach-vorschrift,10809148,11804026.html>

city is also present in the pictures on the next page (figure 128). Two pictures in the bottom depict the *Moritzhof* (left), a small urban farm with didactic purposes located in the park, and a small birch forest, the *Birkenwäldchen*. Both are examples of spaces in the park that offer the experience of nature. The both pictures on the top, by their part, are images of the *Prinzessinengarten*, a community garden in Berlin-Kreuzberg considered by the brochure's producers as a model for the future development of *Mauerpark*. In this group of pictures we observe the representation of idyllic fantasies of 'going back to nature', with a barefoot man working the land, in direct contact with the soil, as well as miniature urban versions of agriculture, sheep farming and forest walking trails.

A third topic prevalent in this brochure is the idea of an active role of citizens in the shaping of urban spaces. On page three we see an image that employs a similar strategy to some pictures commented above in the *Mediaspree* section (figure 129). The image describes, by means of a map, the changes in the design of the park that many citizens reject. The strategy of the image is quite simple: on the left side we see a representation of the park as it stands today, while on the center we see the proposal of the borough administration in partnership with Vivico (currently CA Immo), who project building apartment blocks in areas identified in the picture with color grey. A red stripe crosses the map with the words "without us". Finally, we see a depiction of the project supported by the foundation, which considers expanding the park, leaving the areas where Vivico plans to construct apartment buildings as green spaces. This way, we observe an active participation of citizens in the development of alternative proposals for urban plans that directly affect their neighborhoods.

This active role is also represented in several images on sections three and four of the brochure (figures 130 and 131). The text accompanying these pictures describes the park as a place that “offers with its unique mixture of history and culture the exceptional chance of experiencing politic education in a non-museum-like atmosphere”.²⁴⁹ The pictures show some historic shots taken after the fall of the Wall. On the lower left of figure 130 we see a picture of several removed slabs of the Berlin Wall covering the floor, while two other pictures show the early actions taken by neighbors to conquest the vacant area for the construction of the park, in a time when the plot was abandoned and neglected. These photographs show the way that neighbors worked enthusiastically to construct a common place for the community almost out of the blue. On figure 131 we see two women holding placards (upper left) with the texts: “We have laid down over this meadow” “and we have eaten grass”. Below, a man plants a tree under a banner that states: “Mauerpark to complete”. The two pictures on the right side show the result of their efforts: a young woman rides her bike across the park and a group of people of different ages enjoy flying a kite. The text that accompanies the images states: “After Reunification citizens of the former East and West sides of the city committed themselves and started to recapture the public space in the park”.²⁵⁰

The creation and development of *Mauerpark* constitutes an example of the active role that Berliners have played in the conformation and appropriation of public space, but it also shows how this active role sometimes entails

²⁴⁹ My own translation of: „Der Mauerpark bietet mit seiner einzigartigen Mischung aus Geschichte und Kultur die einmalige Chance, politische Bildung in einer nicht-musealen Atmosphäre zu erleben.“

²⁵⁰ My translation of: “BürgerInnen aus dem ehemaligen Ost- und Westteil der Stadt wurden nach der Wende selbst tätig und fingen an, sich den öffentlichen Raum im Mauerpark zurückzuerobern”.

confrontation with the urban policies of local authorities. On one hand, the government tries to regulate and control the space; on the other, users reject such controlled spaces and look for other alternatives where spontaneity and creativity can find a place. These discrepancies are also manifest in the following case.

3.2.2. 100% Tempelhofer Feld

The case analyzed in this section is about the controversy around the use of the terrain left by the *Tempelhof* airport after its closure. The materials that I describe here were produced by two citizen initiatives created to demand the preservation of the former airport as an open public space. One of them is a poster against the International Garden Exhibition 2017 (IGA), distributed by *100% Tempelhofer Feld*, while the others are two flyers of a similar group inviting to demonstrations. These materials were taken from printing resources available at the websites of both initiatives.

The decision of closing the *Tempelhof* Airport was taken by the local authorities of Berlin in 2008, due to plans of centralizing all the air traffic of the city into a new international airport in Berlin-*Schönefeld*. The huge portion of vacant open space in the inner city left by the extinct airport constituted an exceptional opportunity to develop public space for the city. Several proposals for using the plot came to light very soon, but the city government decided to conserve the former airport field as a park, which opened its doors in 2010 under the name *Tempelhofer Feld*.²⁵¹ The park became a favorite spot for Berliners very

²⁵¹ <http://www.tempelhoferfreiheit.de/ueber-die-tempelhofer-freiheit/planung/parkplanung/>

quickly, with 200,000 visitors registered only during the weekend of its opening. Simultaneously, a portion of the land has been used for a variety of events, such as fairs and festivals, with such a success that the Berlin Senate planned to reshape the park under an ambitious project that would be partially financed by international events, like the International Gardening Exhibition (IGA), planned to be hosted in the former *Tempelhof* airport in 2017.

However, the reconstruction project found great criticism among some sectors of the population, who regarded the expensive project as superficial and unnecessary, and as an attempt to render the park to private interests. During the recent years several protests were held by diverse groups to demand that the park stayed an open free space and to reject the designed park projected by the Senate. Pushed by the public opposition, the Senate of the city announced in September 2012 the decision of changing the location of IGA from *Tempelhof* to Marzahn-Hellersdorf.²⁵²

The citizen's initiative *100% Tempelhofer Feld* emerged on the context of these protests. It was established in 2011 with the goal of demanding that the *Tempelhofer Feld* stayed as an open free area, and soon after a referendum to consult the inhabitants about the realization of the Senate's plan of a 'designer park' was organized. According to them, the ambitious project meant an enormous and unnecessary investment of money which would burden the

²⁵² "Stadtgrün. IGA Berlin 2017", website of the *Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt*, accessed on July 28, 2014, http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/umwelt/stadtgruen/iga_berlin_2017/index.shtml. The main reason for the decision might have been the high costs of hosting the fashion fair "Bread and Butter" with IGA at the same place and the same time. However, the Senator Michael Müller mentioned the demand of some Berliners for keeping the field free for public use as one of the factors that influenced the decision of changing the location for IGA. Ralf Schönball, "Entscheidung des Senats: Tempelhof bleibt Volkspark," *Der Tagesspiegel*, July 4, 2012.

already fragile finances of the city.²⁵³ They were also concerned with the possibility that the reconstruction could bring a greater increase of the already rising rents. Finally, the protesters demanded the right to take part in the decision-making of issues affecting their immediate environment.²⁵⁴

On figure 132 we see a poster produced by *100% Tempelhofer Feld* against IGA-2017.²⁵⁵ The image on the top, which was also the header of their website (figure 133), shows a wide view of the former airport field with the old radar tower on the left side. Except for a provisional roof standing on the right side of the picture, no other building interrupts the view of the open field. This way, the picture focuses on the wide open field and highlights what the people of this initiative seems to consider the best feature of the park: the enormous amount of free space available in the middle of the city. Over this picture, on the left side, we see the logo of the initiative formed by a green circle that represents the former airport field, with a stripe crossing it, representing the runway.

It is interesting that the main image on the website of *100% Tempelhofer Feld* was quite similar to the main image on the official website of the park, though from an opposite point of view (figure 134).²⁵⁶ The picture of the official website was shot from the field, with the historic building of the former airport as main motif, while the picture of the citizen's initiative was taken from the opposite side, focusing in a view of the open field, without buildings. The difference of viewing

²⁵³ Criticism was related to the fact that the local authorities planned to spend 62 million euro for only six months of gardening exhibition from the budget of a city already facing great debt problems. The only reason for this expense, they argued, was the interest of making the area more attractive to investors, and not the public interest.

²⁵⁴ Website of the initiative *100% Tempelhofer Feld*, accessed on November 5, 2013, <http://thf100.de/index.php?id=25>

²⁵⁵ The materials of this section were taken from the website of *100% Tempelhofer Feld* on November 2012: <http://thf100.de/index.php?id=128>

²⁵⁶ Website of *Tempelhofer Freiheit*, accessed on November 2012, <http://www.tempelhoferfreiheit.de>

angles in both pictures reveals a deeper opposition in the way both sides conceptualize the park: while in the official image the most important feature of the place is the historical building that housed the airport, for the citizen's group the open field is the main reason of its attractiveness. This way, it is possible to infer that, under the government's vision, it is architecture and its image what is more valued, while in the view of citizens, it is space and its function what is appreciated the most.

Below the header image in the poster we read "*Kein Berliner braucht diese IGA*" (None Berliner needs this IGA), and below it, there are two more pictures. On the left side, we see an image of one of the provisional urban gardens assembled in some areas in the park (figure 135). The plants of the garden dominate the foreground of the picture and behind, we see people of different ages enjoying the place: two women chat, a girl plays with her bike, a man plays some music, and another woman takes a rest on a bench. On the background we see an apartment building surrounded by trees, and more people playing, riding bicycles and grilling. It is the typical image of a summer weekend in Berlin and the representation of a popular desire among Berliners of enjoying nature and outdoor activities near home. On the right side, in contrast, we see a chart representing what the park would become if the Senate's plan were completed (figure 136). On the top we see the green field surrounded by a fence that protects a single flower with a Euro sign, representing private economic interests. On the bottom, a time line suggests that all the work made in the park since 2012 will benefit only to IGA, while a field of flowers, marked with the Euro sign too, suggests that such concept benefits only to private investors.

Figure 137 shows a flyer produced by *Tempelhof für Alle*, another citizen's group with the same political agenda, and which preceded the integration of *100% Tempelhofer Feld*.²⁵⁷ The flyer shows a picture of the fencing surrounding the airport lands, whose emplacement was a controversial topic, intensively discussed during the first months after the closure of the airport. Criticism centered on the argument that the fence limited the public access to the park. The flyer, distributed in 2008, when this issue was intensively discussed, shows a portion of the chain-link fencing with a white banner over it. The banner has a drawing of the fencing and the text: "Tempelhof, the fence must be removed so that our ideas learn to fly".²⁵⁸ The text accompanying the flyer underlines the great variety of uses that the field can be used for, like skating, playing, gardening and sports, and stresses the importance of giving room to non-commercial uses and "unconventional ideas" too. This way, it is asserted that the removal of the fence was the necessary condition to liberate the private space and open it to all kind of creative possibilities of public use.

The same idea is present in another flyer of the same group, inviting to a demonstration in June 2009 (figure 138).²⁵⁹ In this image we see the fence again, decorated this time with balloons and pieces of paper with messages and drawings posted by neighbors to express their individual wishes for the future of the park. On the notes we read: "Do the city yourself", "Adventure playground" or "Local recreational area".²⁶⁰ The text in this flyer claims that neither the Senate,

²⁵⁷ Blog created by the Initiative *Tempelhof für Alle*, accessed on July 24, 2014, <http://tfa.blogspot.de/>

²⁵⁸ My own translation of: "Tempelhof: Der Zaun muss weg, damit unsere Ideen fliegen lernen!". The banner is signed by the *Stadtteilladen Lunte*, an info shop in Berlin Neukölln. <http://www.dielunte.de/>

²⁵⁹ "Samstag 20.06.2009. Tempelhof für alle!" (flyer), accessed on November 2014, http://tempelhof.blogspot.de/images/tempelhof_flyer.pdf

²⁶⁰ My own translation of: "Stadt selber machen", "Abenteuerspielplatz", "Naherholungsgebiet".

nor the district politicians have considered the needs and ideas of the neighbors for the development of the former *Tempelhof* Airport, thus they serve only their own interests and the interest of an elite. For this reason, the authors of the flyer call for reclaiming an active role for citizens on shaping the city, and the right to make reality the “limitless possibilities of creative uses for the site” that they imagine. The text ends with a calling to make politics “from below” with a massive action that will squat the park, by performing all kind of “creative activities” in both sides of the fence. The picture with the fence decorated with balloons represents the struggle described on the flyer: people are willing to appropriate space with all kind of self-organized activities, but the fence is there to control which uses are allowed in the park and which not.

On January 2014, the citizen’s initiative *100% Tempelhofer Feld* collected enough signatures to demand the organization of a referendum to consult the inhabitants whether the park must remain free of buildings in the future, or the plans of the Senate must be realized. The referendum, conducted on May 2014 resulted in a vast majority of participants (64%) supporting the petition that the park stays as it is, and that the government cannot neither sale nor build the terrains of the former airport.²⁶¹

Both examples described in this section share a number of elements that are worth of being further commented. Firstly, we observe in both cases a public opposition to the urban plans of the local government. In both cases the users of the park organized to contest the government plans and adopted an active role,

²⁶¹ *Spiegel Online*, “Volksentscheid: Berliner stimmen gegen Bebauung von Tempelhof,” May 25, 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/tempelhof-volksentscheid-berliner-stimmen-gegen-bebauung-a-971608.html>; 100% Tempelhofer Feld, “Zum Ergebnis des Volksentscheids über den Erhalt des Tempelhofer Feldes am 25.Mai.,” news release, May 29, 2014, accessed June 25, 2014, <http://www.thf100.de/pressemitteilungen-der-initiative-lesen/items/zum-ergebnis-des-volksentscheids-ueber-den-erhalt-des-tempelhofer-feldes-am-25mai.html>

proposing their own visions for public space and reclaiming participation in decision-making. This active opposition of citizens to urban projects is not rare in Berlin, as we also saw in the case of *Mediaspree*, and is an answer to significant changes in the model of governability adopted by the city government in the recent years.

The process of contraction of the level of goods and services historically provided by the government in neoliberal states has been widely described by many scholars. Tridib Banerjee for example, asserts that in correspondence with the decline of the traditional role and fiscal capacity of government, the role of the private sector has increased. This way, transnational corporate power has gained an increasing influence on public issues, and has frequently achieved that the local government subordinates public interests to the interests of global capital.²⁶² This situation has aroused a variety of conflicts and tensions at the local level (like those described in this chapter) to such an extent that it is quite common to find in Berlin social movements demanding that public spaces remain to the service and benefit of the community, and expressing open rejection against profit-oriented urban plans.

Additionally, the process of neoliberal urban restructuring has also resulted in a series of budget cuts that the Berlin government has implemented since the 1990s, and which have impacted in the amount of money destined for maintenance of public parks. In an attempt to compensate such cuts, the government has gradually accepted, and even encouraged, a wider participation of non-state actors and autonomously organized projects in the maintenance of

²⁶² Tridib Banerjee, "The Future of Public Space," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 67-1 (2001): 9–10.

parks and green areas.²⁶³ This way, the trend of active citizenship in urban issues that we observed in the commented examples moves in a double direction: citizens are willing to organize and participate, but it is also the government who has fostered such participation.

It is also interesting that users seem reluctant to accept public spaces perceived as highly designed or regulated, and prefer open free spaces where no specific activity is previously determined. On a study supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, carried out in England and Wales, Ken Worpole and Katharine Knox found that successful social spaces are characterized for leaving room for self-organization and for avoiding over-regulation of design and space.²⁶⁴ This observation clearly applies in the case of *Mauerpark*, thus the park did not gain full acceptance in the immediate years after its opening, but became popular only when the public appropriated it. The same is true about the rejection of neighbors of a designed park in *Tempelhof* or even about the controversy around the placement of a fence. These examples show a constant tension: On one hand, the local government persistently tries to control space, implementing new regulations in *Mauerpark* in regards to levels of noise, fees and registration of activities, or fencing the area of *Tempelhofer Feld*. On the other hand, users constantly challenge such regulations, and try to appropriate the space according to their own needs and desires.

This opposition fits with the findings of Don Mitchell on his study of *People's Park*, in Berkeley, California. Mitchell found a clear divergence between

²⁶³ Marit Rosol, "Public Participation in Post-Fordist Urban Green Space Governance: The Case of Community Gardens in Berlin," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, no. 34 (2010): 548–58.

²⁶⁴ Ken Worpole and Katharine Knox, "The Social Value of Public Spaces," Joseph Rowntree Foundation, <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/2050-public-space-community.pdf>, 9.

the conceptions of public space of planners (city and University officials) and some users (activists and homeless). The authorities considered that the park should be “planned, orderly and safe”, and defined it as “a controlled and orderly retreat where a properly behaved public might experience the spectacle of the city”. The activists, in contrast, reclaimed “a space marked by free interaction and the absence of coercion by powerful institutions”. They wanted the park to be “an unconstrained space within which political movements can organize and expand”, a space “politicized at its very core”, and that “tolerates the risks of disorder”, a place “for oppositional political activity and unmediated interaction”.²⁶⁵

Though parks are places generally linked to leisure activities like resting, eating, or playing, they are also spaces for social meeting and for representation, and as such, they are highly political. On one hand, parks offer, like a few other public spaces, a forum where people of different backgrounds and world views come together and mingle, and therefore, develop awareness of others who are different from themselves.²⁶⁶ Hannah Arendt highlighted the importance of “a common space of appearance”, in which public concerns can emerge and be articulated from different perspectives.²⁶⁷ In her view, it is not enough to have a collection of private individuals voting separately and anonymously according to their private opinions for politics to occur. Rather, these individuals must be able to see and talk to one another in public, to meet in a public space, so that their

²⁶⁵ Mitchell, “The End of Public Space”, 115.

²⁶⁶ Worpole and Knox, “The Social Value”, 7.

²⁶⁷ Maurizio Passerin d'Entrèves, “Hannah Arendt and the Idea of Citizenship,” in *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism and Citizenship*, ed. Chantal Mouffe (Verso Edns., 1992), 145–68, 152.

differences as well as their commonalities can emerge and become the subject of democratic debate.²⁶⁸

On the other hand, public spaces are spaces where individuals and groups disclose their identities. According to Mitchell, in public space “political organizations can represent themselves to a larger population” and “marginalized groups represent themselves as a legitimate part of the public”.²⁶⁹ This way, it is from public space that most of the collective representations emerge, and that is why its image is a matter of prime importance. People of the citizen initiatives described in this section seem to be aware that the shaping of public spaces is not a trivial matter, and therefore they demand the right to decide what to do on public space, free of constraints or official determinations and according to their own vision. They reject profit-oriented projects which provide false public spaces oriented to spending, entertainment and security, rather than to interaction and politics and that is why they reject urban plans of the local government.

The authoritarian dimension of projects of renovation in cities has been widely discussed by some scholars, like Worpole and Konox, who pointed out that regeneration outlines are more concerned with beautification and with a sort of social engineering, oriented to attract more affluent home-buyers, rather than with consolidating community facilities and networks.²⁷⁰ Rosalyn Deutsche, by her part, asserts that redevelopment programs work as “authoritarian mechanisms to facilitate capital accumulation and state control”, and convert public spaces into corporate- and state-controlled areas.²⁷¹ Similarly, Low, Taplin

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Mitchell, "The End of Public Space", 115.

²⁷⁰ Worpole and Knox, "The Social Value", 12.

²⁷¹ Rosalyn Deutsche, "Art and Public Space: Questions of Democracy," *Social Text*, no. 33 (1992): 37.

& Scheld have observed that patterns of design of public space in this new century tend to exclude some sectors of population and to reduce social and cultural diversity, so it is frequent that only a few persons, often tourists or middle class visitors, feel welcomed.²⁷²

This is the model of public space that the local government promotes on its advertising campaign. Just a glimpse to the section 'Green City' of the brochure *The Place to Be* (figure 139) is enough to notice it. The text on the brochure highlights recreational qualities of green areas, like playing Frisbee, jogging, barbequing, watching animals and rides on the waterways. The materials analyzed in this section also depict recreational activities, but also underline the political and social dimensions of public places, and therefore the importance that they stay free, open and plural. If the diversity of public spaces (or their representations) is controlled and 'sanitized', and devoid of any risk of unsettling encounters with 'different' people, the civility that is produced is necessarily constrained within a restricted definition of who the members of society are.²⁷³ Considering this, a critical point arises from the images of parks of the *Be Berlin* brochure: Rather than taking the opportunity of nourishing a plural image of the city, the brochure reproduces the class selection that already operates as a by-product of privatization and commercialization by means of the image used.

In this regard it is pertinent to review the distinction between open spaces and political public spaces that Mitchell remarks:

Open space serves functional and ideological roles that differ from political public spaces. It is rare that open spaces such as these are

²⁷² Setha M. Low, Dana Taplin and Suzanne Scheld, *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space & Cultural Diversity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 1.

²⁷³ Stéphane Tonnelat, "The Sociology of Urban Public Spaces," in *Territorial Evolution and Planning Solution: Experiences from China and France : Proceedings of the First Sino-French Urban, Regional and Planning Symposium*, ed. Hongyang Wang, Michel Savy and Guofang Zhai (Paris, Beijing, Amsterdam: Atlantis Press, 2010), 5.

designed and appropriated to fulfill the market and civic functions that mark the public space of the city. More typically, these open spaces share certain characteristics with pseudo-public spaces. Restrictions on behavior and activities are taken-for-granted; prominent signs designate appropriate uses and outline rules concerning where one may walk, ride, or gather. These are highly regulated spaces.²⁷⁴

Political public spaces are this way, places permanently contested, rather than harmonious. They should constitute “spaces of discursive interaction”, “where people talk and generate political discourses”, places “to construct and modify political identities in encounters with others” and from whom the public emerges.²⁷⁵ Taking this into account, it is clear that the local government promotes open spaces, while the citizens’ initiatives reclaim political public spaces.

The dichotomy described here corresponds to the opposition Lefebvre and Mitchell analyze between representations of space (planned, controlled, ordered space) and representational space (appropriated, lived space, space-in-use). According to Mitchell, this opposition is an integral part of the nature of public space. Neither the one nor the other positions exist on their own, but rather in a constant tension with another vision.

Banerjee has pointed out that the absence of appropriate local government responses to the demand of adequate public space may be met in the future through grassroots initiatives, or through the nonprofit or the private sector.²⁷⁶ The cases described in the next section provide further examples of grassroots initiatives engaged with building open space for their communities.

²⁷⁴ Mitchell, "The End of Public", 121.

²⁷⁵ Deutsche, "Art and Public Space", 39.

²⁷⁶ Banerjee, "The Future of Public", 18.

3.3. Communitarian and Cultural Projects: New Urban Activism, 'Zwischennutzung' and Governing Through Citizenship

In this section I analyze two cases of civil organizations engaged to the preservation of common spaces for their neighborhoods. The two examples that I selected have in common the use of terrains under the modality of *Zwischennutzung* or interim use, whose increasing acceptance in a variety of projects around the city is an expression of a transformation in the model of governance adopted by the city government in recent years. From being a tolerated form of use for neglected plots, the modality of *Zwischennutzung* has proved to be a convenient way of both saving money in maintenance of non-used buildings and properties, and affordable way of revitalizing areas, profiting from the work of volunteers. The examples to be described are a cultural center in *Friedrichshain* (*RAW Tempel*) and a community garden (*Prinzessinengarten*) in Berlin-Kreuzberg.

3.3.1. RAW Tempel

RAW Tempel is a cultural center created by neighbors of Berlin-*Friedrichshain* in the abandoned buildings of a former complex of offices and workshops of the *Reichsbahn* (Imperial Railway). After German Reunification, when the complex was abandoned (1994) a group of neighbors gained the support of local authorities to use the neglected buildings for the development of a cultural center managed by the registered association *RAW Tempel* e.V. Counting on the very beginning only with voluntary work and their own resources, the association rehabilitated the buildings and converted them in a cherished

socio-cultural project which offers space for artist's studios, workshops, sport and artistic activities, socio-cultural projects, handicraft production, exhibitions, communication, and a variety of small business firms.

Since its foundation the project has struggled for its permanence, due to the fact that the terrains they occupied were lent only for temporary use under the scheme of *Zwischennutzung*. When the enormous plot where the complex is located was sold to a private investor, the *RAW Tempel* association undertook a series of public campaigns and negotiations with the new owners, till they gained the support of the community and the local authorities of the borough to keep the space they have rescued for their organization and its public endeavors. By the time this text was written (March 2014) the plans of the new owners, BNRE Investments GmbH & Co KG, look favorable for them to stay.²⁷⁷

RAW Tempel e.V. published a brochure about the project in 2010, from which I have taken some images with the intention of analyzing the city image they represent in their pictures.²⁷⁸ The brochure describes the history of the project and all the activities developed there in full detail. The cover has a peculiar design, mainly amateurish, which combines naive motifs like colored sculptures, flowers and butterflies, with posters of concerts and events, political statements and simple, basic paintings (figures 140 and 141). In the center of the image we see a locomotive coming out from the main entrance of Revaler Str. 99, referring to the former use of the buildings. A similar image with the same design is found

²⁷⁷ For a complete description of the project and its history see: Michael Rostalski, *Gelebte Orte - Geplante Stadt: Informelle Nutzung urbaner Räume und partizipative Stadtentwicklung - Das Raw-Gelände in Berlin*, Bauhaus Urban Studies 2 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2011). For a shorter version: http://www.kulturfund.org/index.php/RAW-tempel_e.V.

²⁷⁸ The brochure was published in 2010 under the title: "RAW Tempel 1998-2010. 12 Jahre RAW Tempel e.V. Eine Chronik". The production of the brochure was financed by two members of the German Parliament, Christian Ströbele (Green Party) and Halina Wawzyniak (die Linke). It was acquired in 2011 in a small stand beside the Circus Zack.

on the header banner of the website of the association (figure 142).²⁷⁹ These images speak of a utopian illusion of alternative society (the original name of the project was 'Parallel Universum'), which conceives the space of the *RAW Tempel* as a city within a city. It is represented in this fashion in the last page of the brochure (figure 143). The same idea is present in the header image of a flyer distributed by the association in 2013, during a campaign to get public support for their cultural center (figure 144).²⁸⁰ In this image we see the cityscape shaped by the silhouettes of the buildings of the complex in the background, while in the foreground several human silhouettes perform different activities offered in the center, like spraying, playing music, dancing, skating, drinking, painting, climbing, playing soccer and riding bicycle.

Through the pictures of the brochure the association intends to highlight the qualities of the center as a meeting point for the community, where a different way of understanding culture and human relations finds a place. The simple design remarks the DIY (Do it yourself) character of the project, with a cover design in the fashion of a neo-hippie community, old pictures in black and white and non-professional typographies and frames. It looks almost handcrafted. In the text we find several references to subcultures and the alternative scene, as well as critical commentaries about the mainstream conception of culture, oriented to entertainment, profits and spending. In opposition, they highlight a spirit of community and solidarity, offering opportunities of employment and social integration for people in a disadvantaged position. This idea is present in many

²⁷⁹ <http://www.raw-tempel.de/>

²⁸⁰ "RAW-Kulturensemble. Erhalten, entwickeln, etablieren", accessed July 24, 2014, <http://kulturensemble-raw.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/faltblatt-web.pdf>

of the pictures they selected to illustrate the brochure, depicting common people performing some of the many activities the center offers (figures 145-147).

Despite the premises of RAW Temple have a very attractive image, especially for young people, with its walls covered with graffiti and the old yellow-brick buildings of the old train workshops, which add a neglected look that is highly photogenic, the producers of the brochure did not capitalize such aspect. It is clear that the brochure could have included more attractive pictures, from the point of view of visual impact; nevertheless, they preferred less-glamorous pictures depicting common people working, creating or having fun together.

Similarly to the examples of parks described in the former section, the struggle of this association is linked to the conservation of an open public space for common work and free time and, like them, they also demand a greater participation of the population in the decision-making of issues that affect their living environment. However, we also notice a clear difference with the examples described above. While the former cases emerged as a direct reaction against the government, here we observe a close collaboration with the local government, who has supported the continued existence of their projects. One of the pictures on the first pages, for example, shows Borough Mayor Franz Schulz and Deputy Hans-Christian Ströbele in an event at the cultural center (figure 148). *RAW Temple e.V.* has worked in collaboration with local authorities and has received their support in a variety of forms, from the intermediation of Franz Schulz in the negotiations with the landlord, to the funding received from the European Union, through the public support of the Green Party to their cause,²⁸¹ and financial

²⁸¹ "Projekte auf dem RAW-Gelände dauerhaft sichern", website of *Bündnis 90-Die Grünen Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg*, February 13, 2014, <http://www.gruene-xhain.de/de/themen/projekte-auf-dem-raw-gelände-dauerhaft-sichern/>

support of some Parliamentarians, like Halina Wawzyniak (*die Linke*) and Hans-Christian Ströbele (Green Party), for the production of their brochure (the latter also wrote an introduction for the brochure). This aspect of cooperation between local government and neighbors will be further examined at the end of this section.

3.3.2. Prinzessinengarten

The *Prinzessinengarten* is a community garden established in 2009 in a vacant plot on *Moritzplatz* in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Though the land was vacant, it was not squatted, but legally rented to the *Liegenschaftsfond*, a state-owned real estate company. The project is managed by a non-profit association called *Nomadisch Grün*, and was founded to provide the community with a space to meet and share knowledge about urban agriculture, biological diversity, urban ecology, climate change, and sustainable spending.²⁸² According to its creators, the mission of *Prinzessinengarten* is mainly educative, though they see it also as a means of empowerment of social marginal groups.²⁸³

Just like other projects presented in this section, the founders of *Prinzessinengarten* share the purpose of creating a space to counterbalance mainstream notions of society and consumption practices. According to Marco Clausen, the project attempts to challenge the logic of standardization of discount supermarkets chains.²⁸⁴ From the very beginning of the project, both neighbors and owners of local business have offered their work and resources to the

²⁸² "Über nomadisch Grün und die Prinzessinengarten", website of *Prinzessinengarten*, accessed on July 24, 2014, <http://prinzessinnengarten.net/wir/>

²⁸³ Marco Clausen, "Ein andere Stadt kultivieren," *Nomadisch Grün*, accessed July 24, 2014, <http://prinzessinnengarten.net/wir/>

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

creation and maintenance of the garden, among other reasons, by looking for an available place to perform physical work, concerned with the neglect of the neighborhood and with the increasing commercialization of public spaces, as well as due to a discomfort with industrial production of food.²⁸⁵ Also many students from different disciplines and nationalities collaborate with the garden, motivated by the possibility of sharing innovative ideas about empowerment and participative urban development.²⁸⁶

Similarly to the *RAW Temple* project, the *Prinzessinengarten* has been supported by the borough authorities since its very beginning. Clausen assured that it was the borough mayor himself who suggested the temporary use of the plot on *Moritzplatz* to build the garden. Another element they share is the temporary character of their project, thus they are aware that the permission to use the space will last only a limited period of time. Just like the *RAW Temple*, the *Prinzessinengarten* has struggled constantly for its permanence and has faced repeatedly the danger of eviction, when private investors have expressed their interest in the plot.

In order to know the assumptions behind the urban project that the people of *Prinzessinengarten* pursue, I have selected a sample of images from their website that I will describe afterwards. Some of these images appear also in the official publication of the project, entitled: "Prinzessinengarten: Anders gärtnern in der Stadt" (Prinzessinengarten: Gardening differently in the city), and published

²⁸⁵ About the tradition of gardening in Germany see: "Allotment Gardens: The History of Berlin's Urban Green Space," Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt, accessed August 20, 2014, <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/umwelt/stadtgruen/geschichte/en/kleingarten/index.shtml>; *Spiegel Online*, "Rent-a-Plot: Germany's Garden Ghettos," April 11, 2006, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/rent-a-plot-germany-s-garden-ghettos-a-410799.html>

²⁸⁶ Clausen, "Ein andere Stadt".

on 2012.²⁸⁷ Coincidentally, in these pictures we find some of the topics already commented in other examples analyzed in this chapter.

Firstly, the pictures show people from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds working together and mingling (figures 149 and 150). In this sense, we see the concern by part of the people in charge of the garden of showing it as an open multicultural place. This ideal is also shared by people of the *Mauerpark* foundation, and is also present in the discourse of the *Be Berlin* campaign, though not in its pictures, but in its text.

Secondly, there are some pictures representing the same combination of nature and city that we observed in some images of *Tempelhofer Feld* and *Mauerpark* (figure 151). In these pictures we observe the same strategy of presenting a natural element as main motif on the foreground (flowers, plants or soil) in combination with apartment buildings on the background, sometimes out of focus. In addition, there are some pictures where we see almost bucolic images of people in direct contact with nature, with an idealized back-to-the-land connotation (figures 152 and 153): women dressing simple or flowery outfits, barefoot children, working hands showing dirty fresh vegetables, and so on. These images show reminiscences of some photographs and paintings from the 19th century depicting the simple life of peasants, as we see in figure 154, where I can make an evocative comparison of the images of the garden with rural scenes in paintings by Jean-François Millet and Vincent van Gogh. The own picture of the founders of the garden on the cover of their book seems to emulate the look of workers and farmers from the late 19th century (figure 156) and some portraits of August Sander (figure 157).

²⁸⁷ Nomadisch Grün, ed., *Prinzessinengarten: Anders gärtnern in der Stadt* (Köln: Dumont, 2012).

This way, we observe a desire of going back to nature and being in direct contact with soil, as a sort of antidote to the ‘vices and evils’ of urban-modern life. In figure 154 for example we see a set of pictures praising communal-physical work. These pictures show people of different ages and lifestyles working together and engaged with the construction and improvement of the garden, whereas physical work is one of the reasons that people take interest in the garden.²⁸⁸ We find similar pictures in the brochures of *Spreeufer für Alle*, *Mauerpark* and *RAW Temple* (figures 119, 128, 131 and 147).

These pictures are also a testimony of the great importance that these projects give to community work. Figure 159 shows a group of people sitting around a large table, ready to enjoy the food that they helped to grow and harvest. The relationships with neighbors and other members of the community seem to be considered as an alternative to the isolation that dominates everyday life in modern cities and a way of building alternative spaces, organized under different values other than consumerism, isolation, and individualism that dominate the rest of society. Marco Clausen, one of the two founders of *Prinzessinengarten*, speaks of a ‘romantic image’ or ‘wish for the future’ that inspired them to create the garden: “Free spaces open the possibility for social engagement and for new forms of urban life. They are part of the creative, beautiful and wild Berlin, from which politics enthuse”.²⁸⁹

Another element present in the pictures is a disposition towards improvisation and spontaneity, observable in some of the decorations and furnishings (figures 160 and 161). We see objects made with waste materials and

²⁸⁸ Clausen, “Ein andere Stadt”.

²⁸⁹ My own translation of: “Freiräume öffnen Möglichkeiten für soziales Engagement und für neue Formen urbanen Lebens. Sie sind Teil des kreativen, schönen und wilden Berlins, von dem die Politik schwärmt“. Ibid.

walls covered with graffiti. This aesthetic sense, prevalent in countercultural projects like those described in some postcards of chapter two, may be interpreted as a statement against consumerism, and as an expression of a DIY identity and lifestyle.

One more idea present in the pictures is the wish of achieving a positive social change by transforming space. Several pictures show the state of neglect of the land where the garden was built at the moment it was taken by its founders (figures 162 and 163). These pictures contrast with the rest of the shots, where the garden looks colorful and livable. This way, the pictures highlight the power of people to change their home environment with their work and determination. In some other pictures, this transformative power is shown out of the limits of the garden, like in figure 164, where people take the streets and flooded them with plants and flowers transported in supermarket trolleys during a demonstration in 2010; or figure 165 showing Marco Clausen, interviewed and photographed at the roof of a building, surrounded by plants and looking at the cityscape. The idea that these pictures convey is that it is possible to produce social change by means of gardening, which is one of the premises of the movement called 'Guerrilla Gardening' and one of the reasons to create the *Prinzessinengarten*.²⁹⁰ In fact, the good reception and increasing popularity that the garden has gained is connected to a global scenario of social and cultural movements vindicating more natural lifestyles and habits, like the 'Back-to-the-Land' movement, with which the *Prinzessinengarten* shares many premises and characteristics.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ See: <http://www.guerrillagardening.org>; Richard Reynolds, *On Guerrilla Gardening: A Handbook for Gardening Without Boundaries* (New York: Bloomsbury/Macmillan, 2008).

²⁹¹ Jeffrey Jacob, *New Pioneers: The Back-to-the-Land Movement and the Search for a Sustainable Future* (University Park, Penn: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 3–14.

Finally, we find in the pictures of *Prinzessinengarten* a relationship of cooperation with local authorities that we also found in the *RAW Temple* project. Several pictures and examples of campaigns described on their website show the close collaboration of the garden with different institutions like the *Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt*, the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung* or the *Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtentwicklung*.²⁹² Figure 166 shows a picture of a public discussion organized in 2011, during the fund-raising campaign “Wachsen Lassen”, in which we see the district mayor Franz Schulz in the podium with Marco Clausen and Robert Shaw, the founders and managers of the garden.

Several scholars like Nikolas Rose (2008), Margit Mayer (2009), Marit Rosol (2010) or Stephan Lanz (2013) have described a shift in urban governance of cities in the context of globalization, consisting in a new style of governance called “Governing through citizenship”. Described as an ‘advanced form of liberalism’ (Rose), it is defined as “an effort of city governments to increase the capacity for self-governance at all levels of urban activity through partnerships between the state and civil society”.²⁹³

As Mayer has pointed out, the shift to neoliberalism taken by local governments changed the traditional relation of opposition to urban movements that prevailed in the 1980s, to one of cooperation.²⁹⁴ Local governments discovered the potential of community-based organizations to help solving fiscal

²⁹² “Ehemalige Projekte”, website of *Prinzessinengarten*, accessed on August 25, 2014, <http://prinzessinnengarten.net/de/was-passiert-im-garten/projekte/projekthistorie/>

²⁹³ Stephan Lanz, “Be Berlin! Governing the City through Freedom,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, no. 37 (2013): 1311.

²⁹⁴ Margit Mayer, “The ‘Right to the City’ in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements,” *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 13, 2-3 (2009): 364.

problems and gaining legitimacy, while the movements shifted their strategies 'from protest to program', as a better way to warrant the subsistence of their projects.²⁹⁵ This way, cultural movements, whose claims for freedom and self-governance met repression in the 1990s, started to be empowered by official government policies after the turn of the millennium. Under this new scheme of governability these projects are encouraged to appropriate urban space as temporary use in a creative way.²⁹⁶

Marit Rosol has documented this process in the specific context of Berlin and in regards to community gardens, and describes it as a shift in the role of the local government, who has moved from a position of antagonism to one of support, or even of collaborative co-foundation. From the gardeners' perspective, it also meant a turn, from being part of social movements toward a form of volunteering.²⁹⁷ This way, under the scheme of the neoliberal urban restructuring, the conditions for participation of non-state actors changed, while a new political acceptance of autonomously organized projects and active citizen participation in urban or green spaces' governance emerged.²⁹⁸ Whereas in the early 1980s citizens groups had to fight for their right to influence their environment, today such projects are actively encouraged and supported by the city administration and politicians. According to Rosol, this change is certainly part of the success of grassroots activism, but also an expression of the actually existing neo-liberalization of cities, in which the local state withdraws from its welfarist functions, and civic engagement is considered a cheap alternative for solution.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Lanz, "Be Berlin!", 1314.

²⁹⁷ Rosol, "Public Participation", 555–57.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 548.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 557–58.

In Berlin, local politicians (particularly those of the Red-Green government in power from 1998 to 2005) have called for civic engagement as a form of citizen participation, mainly as a consequence of the severe cuts in public funding for public green space implemented after the fiscal crisis.³⁰⁰

The permission to occupy vacant land for interim uses is often awarded only in times of slow real estate activity, when development is not profitable enough, and it is only valid until a private investor shows interest in the land and requests a building permit. In this way, interim uses are seen as a stop-gap measure.³⁰¹ Once the temporary use adds symbolic value to a previously unused urban space, it has to give way to profit-oriented developments, and in doing so, it is subordinated to the logic of exchange value.³⁰² By means of these projects, the local government expects to improve the appearance of neighborhoods, according to middle-class values, closely attached to gentrification and “urban renaissance”.³⁰³

Although these projects can play an important social and even political function as meeting points in a community, and because they also have the potential for raising political awareness to market-led and competition-oriented neoliberal politics, it is true that under the new schemes of governance they may collaborate with the system, rather than challenge it. As Rose has pointed out, the new model of governance implies that “the rules are fixed, given, closed, imposed”, and that those “who want to play at all must obey them, because not to obey is to be excluded from the game”.³⁰⁴ State authorities are able to

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 551.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 558.

³⁰² Lanz, “Be Berlin!”, 1314.

³⁰³ Rosol, “Public Participation”, 557.

³⁰⁴ Nikolas Rose, “Governing Cities, Governing Citizens,” in *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City*, ed. Engin F. Isin, Innis Centenary Series (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 97.

selectively co-opt or refuse various actors' claims for participation: "Where civil involvement dovetails with government policies, it is empowered; where it runs counter to them, it is often dismissed, sidelined, avoided or suppressed".³⁰⁵

Judging from the way that *RAW Temple* and *Prinzessinengarten* are described in the brochures and images analyzed in this section, they constitute examples of this kind of collaboration between local government and groups of neighbors. They do not challenge the governmental apparatus, but they collaborate with it. They promote an image of the city which coincide with the one found in the *Be Berlin* campaign, that of an international metropolis with a great potential in the creative sectors and an emphasis in alternative lifestyles and subcultures. And that is why they receive the support from the government, while other actors with more radical political agendas, like *Wir bleiben alle*, are suppressed in contrast.

As Rosol has pointed out, the growing responsibility of citizens and civic institutions is not usually accompanied by increasing resources, influence and power; and the discourse of collaboration has the potential to depoliticize urban governance practices and discipline community organizations into forms of participation that are better manageable for the state.³⁰⁶ "And even if the state still provides some funding for the gardening groups, their volunteering is basically used as cheap labor".³⁰⁷ This way, the acceptance of community groups is ambiguous and fragile, given that only temporary uses are encouraged.

According to Rose, the city conceived as a place of pleasure has been a constant image of the liberal city, and it is also present nowadays. A multitude of

³⁰⁵ Lanz, "Be Berlin!", 1311.

³⁰⁶ Rosol, "Public Participation", 550.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 559.

projects seek to reshape the city according to this image of pleasure in order to compete into the demanding market of urban tourism.³⁰⁸ Each of them will offer a 'unique' urban experience, and the city becomes "a series of packaged zones", managed by an alliance of urban planners, entrepreneurs, local politicians and 'regeneration' agencies. Urban inhabitants are also required to play their part by promoting their own micro-cultures of bohemian, gay or alternative lifestyles and helping to remark the unique qualities offered by their particular surroundings.³⁰⁹

Conversely, it is capital to consider that the action of organizing to appropriate a space and transform it in a public space to the service of a community is, without a doubt, a political process. By wresting a plot from the control of the state, people challenge issues of control, order and state power.³¹⁰ However, the natural tendency of power will try to integrate and absorb such autonomous expressions into more acceptable uses. As Lefebvre explains, the hegemonic powers will try to absorb differences because they threaten social order. It will integrate, recuperate or destroy whatever has transgressed; "a conflictual duality cannot last forever".³¹¹ This way, the cycle goes once and again: the state regulates, imposes its order, and regains control. The users will try to avoid such control and will try to appropriate the regulated space, and will reshape it in their own manner. This way, the struggle oscillates between controlled spaces and free spaces. In the cases described in this section, the actors aligned to legality, and in some way, their work has been capitalized by the political agenda of the local government. But there will be always new actors looking for interstices to slink again and stay as long as possible.

³⁰⁸ Rose, "Governing Cities", 106.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 107.

³¹⁰ Mitchell, "The End of Public", 125.

³¹¹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 373–74.

3.4. Building Identity through Architecture

3.4.1. Kein-schloß-in-meinem-namen.de

One of the most controversial topics in the discussions about the reconstruction of Berlin after Reunification is the dismantling of the former *Palast der Republik* to reconstruct the *Berliner Schloss*. Based on the winner design of Italian architect Frank Stella, the project considers rebuilding the façades of the extinct Prussian palace, in combination with a new building that will host the new cultural center 'Humboldt Forum'. There are many articles and books that examine this topic in more depth, so it is not my intention to describe here the debate, but rather to analyze the way that certain sectors of population received the project and the reasons they had to reject it. The images selected for this purpose were taken from the website www.kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen.de (Berlin Palace. Not in My Name), created in 2008 by a group of scholars, in the context of an exhibition in the *Kronprinzenpalais*, where the architectural proposals for the reconstruction of the Palace were displayed.

In spite that by the time when the website was created the decision of rebuilding the Palace was already taken, the supporters considered important to express their points of view as a contribution to the public debate.³¹² Among the reasons to reject the project, a short document posted on the website explains: Firstly, they disagree with the historical image of Germany that the building embodies, thus they consider that an idealized reconstruction of the palace suppresses both architectural and political history, and erase historical conflicts

³¹² „Kein Schloss! Und wenn doch: wofür? Mitmachaktion in Internet, Veranstaltung in Berlin“, website of *BauNetz*, December 9, 2008, http://www.baunetz.de/meldungen/Meldungen-Mitmachaktion_im_Internet_Veranstaltung_in_Berlin_681826.html

and changes, presenting to the world a fictional image of an unbroken tradition. Secondly, they argue that the original building was never intended to be a public building, and therefore it is not the adequate structure to host the projected public cultural venue. Thirdly, they assert that during its development, the project lost its original purpose, deriving in a 'space-filler' that cannot even provide enough space to house the complete collections of the *Landesbibliothek* and the ethnological museums. The Humboldt Forum, they affirm, is more a promise and a political justification to rebuild the palace, than an original project with an innovative potential. Finally, they dislike the process of design and approval of the project because, they argue, it was characterized by misinformation about the use, costs, financing and time of construction, and because it lacked of the desirable debate, contest of ideas and alternative approaches that a project of such importance deserves. The document ends with an invitation to upload an image and some basic information (name, city and e-mail) to add the sender's name to the list of those expressing their dissent.³¹³

The website hosts a total of 37 pages, with 14 images each, which means that more than 500 people signed the document between December 2008 and October 2011. Every image has the name of the person who posted it and the place where he/she lives. Some of the signatories added a short message that can be read when clicking on the picture. Among the signatories are the architect and critic Philipp Oswalt, the architecture critic Bruno Flierl (both highly committed with the debate around the Berliner Palace),³¹⁴ the designer Jesko Fezer, the

³¹³ <http://www.kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen.de/index.php?id=7>

³¹⁴ Philipp Oswalt was one of the organizers of the *Zwischennutzung* project for the decontaminated structure of the *Palast der Republik* before its dismantling, while Bruno Flierl was part of the International Commission of Experts 'Historic Berlin Mitte' who voted against the reconstruction of the Berlin City Palace.

architect Jorg Joppien and the journalist Wolfgang Sabath. The oldest images are simple pictures of the person holding a piece of paper with the phrase “Kein Schloss in meinem Namen” (figure 167). Judging by the background and date, these first pictures must have been taken on the same day, in the site of the exhibition in the *Kronprinzenpalais*. But there are also many other images uploaded afterwards, in which the signatories express their thoughts or feelings about the reconstruction of the Berliner Palace. I have selected some of these images to analyze the way that citizens, both from Berlin and other cities, interpret the architectural project for the reconstruction of the *Berliner Schloss*. I have organized the selected images in seven thematic groups.

The first set of images (figure 168) highlights the idea that the reconstruction of the palace is anachronistic. Four images alluding to the Nazi and Prussian eras suggest that the reconstruction is an attempt to bring bygone times back, which is not only nostalgic, but also a way of falsifying History. A second group of images (figures 169 and 170) points out to the artificial character of the project, by placing images of other castles, like the Disneyland’s Cinderella Castle, the *Burg Hohenzollern* or the *Neuschwanstein* Castle, in the place where the Humboldt Forum will be built. These images suggest that the reconstruction of the Berlin Palace will produce an artificial cityscape and a fake image of a happy world, similar to the absurd representations of the pictures. Two other images (figure 170) compare the reconstruction of the Palace with building a *Lego* castle or a scale model, while another image suggests that the new cupola will be a sort of monstrous creature like Frankenstein. The last image in this group shows an impossible view of the Palace seen from a window of the extinct *Palast der Republik* with the words: “Fake. No, thank you.” This way, the images present

absurd landscapes with the intention of underlining the nonsense of rebuilding the Prussian palace.

The next group of images (figure 171) criticizes the commercial character of the project. The first two images show the plot of the Berlin Palace as branches of popular stores like the supermarket chain *Kaiser's Tengelmann* or the furniture retailer IKEA. Another image is a picture of the emblematic script in Las Vegas, with the text: "Palace, yes. But in the right place", suggesting that a reconstructed palace would fit in a spectacle city like Las Vegas, but not in the heart of historic Berlin. Another image posted by the Berlin magazine SLAB makes a wordplay with the German word for Palace (*Schloss*) and the term 'shopping mall', and puts the silhouette of the building upside down.³¹⁵

One more group of images is integrated by pictures criticizing the architectonic aspects of the project (figure 172), particularly in relation to the principles of the 'Critical Reconstruction', the urban approach that the Berlin's Senate applied during the immediate years after Reunification.³¹⁶ On the first picture we see an image of *Bebelplatz*, in which all the buildings were erased, only their façades remaining. This image alludes to one of the persistent arguments raised by the critics of the critical reconstruction, for considering that it privileged beauty and uniformity in the façades over functionality or meaning of buildings. In a similar fashion, the second image shows the painted cover that

³¹⁵ *Slab* is an online magazine dedicated to architecture and urbanism, founded in 2006. <http://www.slabs-mag.com/>

³¹⁶ Critical Reconstruction (Kritische Rekonstruktion) is the name to designate the urban and architectonical guide principles followed by the city government to redevelop Berlin after Reunification. It was inspired in the principles established by Josef Paul Kleihues, planning director of IBA-1984. These policies were followed by Hanns Stimmann, as Director of the Building Senate (2000 to 2006), and during the implementation of the *Planwerk Innenstadt*. The critics of Stimmann (among them Daniel Libeskind, Richard Meier, Rem Koolhaas and Günter Behnisch) complained about the strict rules governing the shape, height and materials of buildings constructed during the Stimmann's era, arguing that they limited their liberty and imagination as architects, in the benefit of restoring prewar urban patterns and architecture.

was set over the *Palast der Republik* in 1993-1994 to simulate the potential view of the reconstructed Palace.³¹⁷ On the top of the image we read: “*Kein Fassadenterror*” (No façade terror). The third image is a colored picture of one of the official images of the winning project depicting the so called *Schlüterhof*. The colors, composition and typography of this image, allude to a political poster designed in 1972 by Klaus Staeck as a satirical commentary against the CDU during the Bundestag elections. The original text has been changed but the ironical tune stays: “*Kritische Rekonstruktivisten! Kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen.de will euch euer Schloss wegnehmen*” (Critical reconstructivists! keinschloss-in-meinem-namen.de wants to take away your Palace).³¹⁸

Another group of images (figure 174) criticize the arbitrariness of destroying or reconstructing historic buildings due to political trends. These images play with the idea that the *Palast der Republik* will be rebuilt at some point in the future, when the historical interpretations change and a new wave of nostalgia for the lost building arose.

One further group is integrated by pictures of the ruins of the *Palast der Republik*, posted as an expression of discontent with the decision of its destruction (figure 175). These pictures suggest that the destruction of the socialist building is an attempt of erasing the traces of the GDR and denying the past. The last group of images (figure 176) is integrated by different pictures of the art projects that the *Palast der Republik* housed in 2005 before it was finally dismantled.³¹⁹ The first picture shows the project *Palast des Zweifels* (Palace of

³¹⁷ Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, 60.

³¹⁸ *Der Spiegel*, “Alles ordentlich: Mit ironischen Aufrufen, CDU zu wählen, und Schein-Attacken gegen die SPD greift der Heidelberger Graphiker Klaus Staeck in den Wahlkampf ein,” October 23, 1972, <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-42787592.html>

³¹⁹ “Volkspalast. Zwischen Palast Nutzung”, accessed on August 24, 2014, <http://www.zwischenpalastnutzung.de/>

Doubts) designed by the Dutch artists Lars Ramberg.³²⁰ Another picture shows the façade of the building during the art exhibition *Fraktale IV. Der Tod kommt in den Palast* (Fractal IV. The Death Comes to the Palace), which brought the topic Death to the ruins of the dying palace. The next picture shows an interior view of the installation *Der Berg ruft* (The Mountain Calls) presented by *Raumlabor* Berlin.³²¹ All these images can be considered as a call to reconsider the variety of creative uses that the plot could have had, and to ponder other voices and other possibilities. Similar to the claims of the *100% Tempelhofer Feld* initiative, the people who participated in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* demanded more inclusive decision-making processes.

Among the variety of issues addressed by the images described above, one idea is always present: the rejection of the imposition of a single interpretation of memory. According to Maurice Halbwachs, there are as many collective memories as there are groups or institutions in society. Social classes, families, associations, corporations, armies and trade unions have distinctive memories that their members have constructed over long periods of time.³²² Nevertheless, the collective memory cannot be regarded as the sum of the diverse ‘memories’ entailed for the different groups that integrate a society, on the contrary, it is the

³²⁰ Ramberg placed six-meters aluminum letters illuminated with white neon tubes on the roof of the Palace forming the word “Zweifel” (Doubt), as an attempt “to stimulate reflections over the ongoing discussions, objecting any ideological conclusions”. With such action the artist aimed to place questions like: “Which position could the Palace have in the future, as icon of a former totalitarian regime? Could it fulfill a new function, becoming a new cultural place like it used to be? Or would the social site where East Germans had spent their leisure become a problem for a new Germany?”. “Palast des Zweifels”, website of Lars Ramberg, accessed on August 24, 2014, <http://www.larsramberg.de/1/viewentry/3890>

³²¹ “Der Berg. Temporäre Installation im Palast der Republik”, website of *Studio C*, accessed on August 24, 2014, <http://studioc.wizmo.de/der-berg,2422033649.html>; <http://www.raumlabor.net/>

³²² Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, Harper Colophon Books CN/800 (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

ruling class in every society who often generates a collective memory which is presented as the collective memory of the society as a whole.³²³

In all the images described in this section we observe a rejection of the historical interpretation that the reconstruction of the Palace entails. The images of the Kaiser, scornful of the restoration of a Prussian symbol, are also a dismissal of an elitist tradition, supported especially by conservative groups. The criticism against the commercial character of the project is at the same time a rejection of the mainstream order oriented to profits; while the ironic commentaries about critical reconstruction are also a refusal to accept authoritarian urban policies and vertical decisions-taking in common issues. By its side, the images advocating for the memory of the GDR imply a demand for respecting the variety of different 'memories' and not subsuming them to one single official memory.

According to Halbwachs the physical configuration of a city and its material structures embody the arrangement made by a group, which can nevertheless be dismantled by another group with a new identity.³²⁴ When a given period ceases to awake interest in a subsequent period of time, it is not that a group forgot a part of its past, rather it is a sign that there are two successive groups in power, one following the other.³²⁵ The reconstructed *Schloss* calls for remembering a specific historical genealogy, but at the same time, other people's memories are discarded.

The strong connection between urban landscape and the perception of change is also quite close. Halbwachs assures that as long as streets and

³²³ Maurice Halbwachs and Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory*, The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

³²⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, Lorraine Audy and Jean-Marie Tremblay, *La mémoire collective*, Bibliothèque Paul-Émile-Boulet (Québec: Université du Québec, 2001), 87–88.

³²⁵ Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 143.

buildings remain the same, the urban group would have no impression of change.³²⁶ Conversely, building and reshaping are commonly used means to change the people's image of a city. That is why the theme of space has been an issue of such paramount importance in the city of Berlin, especially in the immediate years after reunification, when the time of making decisions about the material reconstruction of the urban landscape and the parallel construction of a new identity for the city came.

Both local and federal governments have undertaken an intense agenda of urban renovation after Reunification in order to change the public perception of the city and to build a new identity. The substitution of the *Palast der Republik* for the Prussian Palace can be regarded as an attempt to construct a national symbol at the heart of the city, with which all Germans can feel identified. The powerful Prussian empire seems to constitute, on the view of the government, a more suitable symbol for the thriving German economy than the ruined *Palast*, which spoke of a failed project, a utopian dream that turned in dictatorship. Additionally, the *Palast* embodied a split in German History, while the *Schloss* represents continuity. The *Palast* reminded division and difference, while the *Schloss* aspires to be a common symbol. This way, the alteration of the physical surroundings is regarded as an instrument to build identity and a new interpretation of History. And that brings us to the last example of this chapter, the new Berlin-Brandenburg international airport (BBI), an ambitious project undertaken with the aim of changing the perception of the city image, as we will see in the next section.

³²⁶ Halbwachs, Audy and Tremblay, *La mémoire collective*, 86.

3.4.2. BBI Airport

The project for the construction of a new International Airport for Berlin comes back from the 1990s. Since reunification and the restoration of Berlin as capital city for Germany, it was considered that a new bigger airport will be needed; especially considering the passengers growth forecasted and that the existing airports started being congested. Planned during fifteen years, the actual construction of the airport started at 2006. Since then, the airport has suffered a variety of setbacks, from a considerable increase in the budget (most of the double), a series of delays in the opening date due to technical and security problems (four cancelled dates in January 2013), to criticism and protests from groups of neighbors, who expressed their concern for the negative consequences that the airport would bring to the area.

The delays brought the people in charge of the project into great disrepute, resulting in the resigning of Klaus Wowereit, mayor of Berlin, to his position as chairman of the supervisory board in January 2013; the dismissal of *Gerkan, Marg and Partners*, the architecture bureau in charge (which were partially blamed for the problems); and the bankruptcy of the general planning office *pg bbi* (*Planungs Gemeinschaft BBI*). According to *The New York Times*, “the delays in the project have dented Germany’s shiny image as an efficient industrial powerhouse driven by superior technical know-how and have become the butt of jokes among Berlin residents”.³²⁷ To the present day there is no official date of opening, but it is known that it shall not take place before 2016.³²⁸

³²⁷ Melissa Eddy, “Mayor to Leave Panel Overseeing Delayed Berlin Airport.,” *The New York Times*, January 7, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/08/world/europe/mayor-to-leave-panel-overseeing-delayed-berlin-airport.html?_r=0

³²⁸ Amann Melanie, Dyrk Scherff, “Die geheime Mängelliste,” *F.A.Z.*, January 13, 2013, <http://www.faz.net/-hof-75pij>

In this last section of my work I present a group of images created by a variety of citizens' groups against the construction of the new airport. A total of twenty-seven initiatives against the airport were registered in 2010 and many individuals also reacted, both in the streets and by legal means, to hinder the construction of the new airport or, at least, to negotiate its conditions in order to reduce the negative effects that it would bring to their communities. Since it is impossible to recollect images from all the initiatives, I have selected a limited number of them, which represent the most recurrent topics and motifs that I observed in the wide variety of websites and documents that they have created for the purpose.

Four main topics are addressed in their images. Firstly, we have several images showing airplanes as a danger, bursting and interfering with the everyday life of communities (figure 177). In one of them, we see an altered version of the popular painting 'The Scream' of Edvard Munch. The image conserves Munch's main figure in the foreground, expressing anxiety, while on the background we see a green field, altered by an overlaid landing strip, and an airplane approaching from the back. The text reads: "Aircraft noise is a physical injury". Another image shows an enormous black airplane with large tusks, from whose jaws emerge smaller airplanes and two landing strips, like rays of light. The aircraft emulates a threatening monster flying above the viewer, in a purple sky, reminiscing a war scene. The text in the poster states: "All good come from above. BBI 1994-2012 BER. The flight paths' fraud". The poster communicates the tricky ways that the authorities used to discard alternative locations for the new airport. One last image is the logo of the movement against the BBI flight

paths, which shows a simple drawing of an airplane breaking the top of the antenna of the television tower.

Secondly, several images represent the negative consequences of air traffic on nature, mainly in birds and wild animals, due to noise and air pollution (figure 178). The main motifs of these pictures are birds in danger by airplanes effect and the ecological consequences of air traffic for the areas surrounding the airport. Thirdly, we see several logos and posters representing airplanes flying above residential areas as a harmful combination (figure 179). Finally, we find satirical images of Berlin Mayor Klaus Wowereit (figure 180), criticizing the ecological damage of the region and the proliferation of negative effects associated to mass tourism. Main concepts in the subtext suggest that danger, nature damage, invasion and negative effects will drift from its construction in that place

It is interesting that while the new airport has been the star project of the city government, not only in terms of budget, but also of political and economic symbolism (and we may say of troubles), an important portion of the population have expressed their rejection to it, not only in regards to its negative effects in the nearby communities, but also as a symbol of a city vision that they do not share and as symbol of an inadequate way of doing politics.

With more than four years of delay and billions of euros over-budgeted, the project has been exceedingly costly not only for taxpayers, but also for one of its major promoters, the city mayor Klaus Wowereit. After being a sort of popstar of politics during the first years in command of the city government, Wowereit announced on August 26, 2014 his decision of stepping down from his position, after thirteen years in charge of the local government and several

months of scandal and criticism for his poor conduction as head of the supervisory board of the airport, and in the lowest point of his career and popularity.

This way, this work ends with the same topic that it began with: the production and political functions of city image. I have described several examples of representations of the city produced by different actors, but in this last example, the city airport, we observe a dichotomy that has been present in all the pages of this work. On one hand, we observe the desire of building an appealing city-image by means of great urban projects, charged with symbolism and promises of prosperity and bonanza. As Erik Swyngedouw put it, there is an “unshakeable belief of the city elites in the healing effects that the production of new urban complexes promises for the city’s vitality”. Such projects are “the material expression of a developmental logic that views megaprojects and place-marketing as means for generating future growth and for waging a competitive struggle to attract investment capital”.³²⁹ On the other hand, we observe that not all the segments of population share such vision, and take their part in contesting it and producing their own city projects (often in a more reduced, partial, limited scale). The exchange does not occur only in an up to down direction, grassroots movements and subcultures have also managed to exercise influence, sometimes with striking results like in the case of *Tempelhofer Feld*, some others little by little. The shaping of urban space is not only a matter of vertical decisions, but also of public participation.

Some of the newspaper articles which reported the resignation of Wowereit estimated that the reinvention of the once divided city as an

³²⁹ Swyngedouw et.al., "Neoliberal Urbanization", 551.

international metropolis and “Europe’s capital of cool” has been Wowereits’ greatest legacy.³³⁰ But this fervor for the city image led him to a bitter defeat at the same time. The powerful image intended to be projected has been based on overambitious urban projects, considered as cornerstones for the construction of a competitive city image that would attract tourism and investors. Some of these projects finally forced him out of power. The case of the airport was not the only reversal; in April 2014 Berliners voted against his project of building a new *Landesbibliothek* in *Tempelhofer Feld*. To it we can add the cancellation of IGA 2017 and the many protests against gentrification and luxurious redevelopment.

I want to finish this section with a group of images related to this topic. On figure 181 we see one of the four images created by the advertising office *Scholz & Friends* to promote the opening of the BBI Airport in 2012. The campaign took a montage of historical pictures of Willy Brandt (Federal Chancellor, Mayor of Berlin, and name giver of the airport) as main motif, welcoming visitors to the airport. In the image that I use as an example we see US-President Barack Obama.³³¹ At the center of the same figure we see another image, created by a user of twitter called *@BERlinVerstehen* (a reference to the motto of Wowereit’s campaign in 2011). The image copies the design of the airport advertising, but instead of a cheerful Willy Brandt, we see him recriminating Matthias Platzeck (Brandenburg Governor), Klaus Wowereit and Rainer Schwarz (CEO of Flughafen Berlin Brandenburg GmbH) for the Berlin airport disaster. The image

³³⁰ Stefan Kuzmany, “Wowereits Rücktritt: Grandiose Wurstigkeit,” *Spiegel Online*, August 26, 2014, Politik; Agata Pyzik, “The Resignation of Berlin’s Mayor Shakes my Faith in Unsinkable Germany,” *The Guardian*, August 29, 2014, Comment is Free.

³³¹ In other versions of the poster, Willy Brandt appears with DJ Legend Paul van Dyk, with an old Asian tourist, and a couple of young backpackers. “Willy Brandt begrüßt die Welt”, website of Scholz & Friends, accessed on September 3, 2014, http://www.s-f.com/i_dialog/de/press/releases/2186/

on the left side is a picture of a postcard, which according to the official page of Berlin, circulates currently in the city. In the postcard we see Walter Ulbrich, and the text: “Nobody has the intention of opening an airport”, a satire of 1961 Ulbrich’s statement denying the construction of the Berlin Wall.³³² In these three images we find the three elements analyzed in this work: the official image in advertising, the appropriation of one of these images by someone of the public with the aim of giving it a new meaning, and the addressing of the topic in a postcard. With these images in mind I want to proceed to explain a proposal for image interpretation in the final chapter of this work.

3.5. Conclusions

The variety of examples described in this chapter show that many inhabitants in Berlin participate in an active way in the configuration of the urban environment. They are especially interested in those urban processes of transformation that affect their immediate surroundings and their everyday lives. They criticize official projects, but also propose alternative options to them. They resort to different tactics to gain some influence, from conventional methods, as street demonstrations and meetings, to innovative actions in Internet, going through legal recourses, as interim uses or referendums. People participating in these movements come from a variety of social backgrounds, from low income citizens to academics; being middle class professionals the most active.

Regardless of the success that their actions may achieve, citizen’s movements play an important role counterbalancing official urban plans and the

³³² “Berlin-Bashing. Berliner nehmen es mit Humor”, official website of Berlin, accessed on April, 22, 2014, <http://www.berlin.de/tourismus/insidertipps/2624358-2339440-berlinbashing-berliner-nehmen-es-mit-hum.html>

increasing power of international corporate interests in the neoliberal global order. Their criticism and opposition may influence considerably public opinion and attain changes in their direct urban milieus, as we observed in examples such as *100% Tempelhofer Feld* and *Mediaspree*.

We observe a marked divergence between hegemonic conceptions of space (visions of planners, architects, investors, decision makers and all those with enough power to materialize their visions of space) and the everyday practices of some of their users. In many cases, users do not identify with the public spaces created by the government and look to express their own visions of space with banners, traditional protests, interim use contracts, or by grassroots organizations.

In spite that the ideas of change, spontaneity, plurality and flexibility are constantly highlighted in the campaign *Be Berlin*, the representations made by the social movements reviewed in this chapter describe the official urban policy as exactly the opposite: exclusionary, rigid, authoritarian and highly regulated. There is a shared perception in all the materials analyzed that the projects carried out by the government frequently benefit only to a small group of investors, whose interests come in conflict with citizens' needs and points of view. That is why, regardless of differences that social movements may have between each other, they share a common concern over the little say that they have in the decision-making of urban spaces. The main demand of all these movements is to have the right to decide issues concerning directly their neighborhoods and impacting their daily lives.

David Harvey has observed that "the kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles,

technologies and aesthetic values we desire". That is why the 'right to the city' "is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources, it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city".³³³ The urban question is therefore, a matter of identity, of worldviews and also a matter of power. That is why Henry Lefebvre identified in the production of (urban) space the key to social transformation: space -and specifically urban space- is the arena to exercise power and control, and to reproduce the social relations linked to it.³³⁴

In the neoliberal order, continues Harvey, the quality of urban life, as the city itself, has become a commodity. Consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries are privileged aspects of the urban political economy, and the government integrates state and corporate interests, favoring corporate capital and upper-classes with the control of shaping the urban process.³³⁵ The result is an attractive urban experience, which offers a high quality of life and a wide cultural and leisure offer, as it is shown in the images of the *Be Berlin* campaign. But such lifestyle is not available for everyone and, while an increasing number of wealthy people move to Berlin, the rent prices keep rising and social discontent also increases, and finds expression in forms of intolerance directed to some scapegoat, sometimes tourists, sometimes Swabian, or anyone else.³³⁶ Such polarization does not contribute to a better coexistence of the diversity of people that live in a great metropolis as Berlin.

³³³ David Harvey, "The Right to the City," *New Left Review*, no. 53 (2008): 23.

³³⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 26–27; Purcell, "Excavating Lefebvre", 102.

³³⁵ Harvey, "The Right", 31, 38.

³³⁶ Expressions of intolerance, like a wave of hate speech against Swabian, have increased in the recent years, specially in highly gentrified districts like Prenzlauerberg. Matthew Tempest, "Swabian Invasion? Scorn for Eastern Berlin's Well-Heeled Newcomers," *Spiegel Online*, January 3, 2013, International; Anna Loll, "Schwabenhass in Berlin: Die Super-Wessis und Proto-Yuppies," *F.A.Z.*, April 5, 2009, Gesellschaft; Nicholas Kulish, "Swabian Separatists Fling Spätzle to Make Their Point," *The New York Times*, January 17, 2013, Europe; Moritz Honert, "Prenzlauer Berg: Schwabenhass im Szenekiez," *Der Tagesspiegel*, December 20, 2011, Berlin.

Discussing scholar research on gentrification, Tom Slater noticed that, in the recent years, the attention of many scholars have focused on superficial aspects of the phenomenon (like trendy bars and cafes, social diversity, and funky clothing outlets), rather than on its social consequences (rent increases, landlord harassment and working-class displacement). “Images of hip, bohemian, ‘cool’ arty tribes who occupy the cafes, galleries and cycle paths of formerly disinvested neighborhoods (...) are increasingly seen as a sign of a healthy economic present and future for cities”, reports Slater.³³⁷ This tendency is also present in the image drawn by the *Be Berlin* Campaign. Fascinated with the idea of a vibrant modern metropolis, the local government has turned its attention to building an appealing city image for tourists and investors and has left the creation of an effective policy to stop the increase of rents and displacement of low-income population in the background.³³⁸

The discussion of housing policies exceeds the limits of this work, so it is not my intention to elaborate further this topic, mainly because my analysis concentrates in the city image. But it is clear at this point that the government’s imagery promoted in the *Be Berlin* campaign shows a city conceived for middle and upper-classes, and that disadvantaged sectors of the population do not find a place in this imagery. The variety of urban movements that are active in contemporary Berlin seem to be a reaction against these exclusionary neoliberal urban policies.

³³⁷ Tom Slater, “The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, no. 30.4 (2006): 738.

³³⁸ About the influence of the local government’s urban policies in the phenomenon of gentrification see: Holm; Andrej Holm, “Berlin’s Gentrification Mainstream,” in Bernt; Grell; Holm, *The Berlin Reader*.

On his analysis of gentrification in Britain, Tom Slater observes that working-classes are barely mentioned in scholar articles, and if so, they only appear when middle classes express how they feel about them. They are something like a sort of “social wallpaper”. Middle classes value the presence of others, but choose not to interact with them: “They do not socialize with them, eat with them or send their children to school with them”.³³⁹ We see a similar approach in the imagery of the *Be Berlin* campaign. The presence of people with different cultural and social backgrounds is praised in the text, but they do not appear in the images: “It is as if the middle classes are the only characters occupying the stage of gentrification, with the working-class backstage”.³⁴⁰

³³⁹ Slater, “The Eviction”, 743.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 744.

4. Dream and Awakening: Analysis of the Visual Material

The title of this research refers to a key concept on Walter Benjamin's unfinished *Arcades Project*, namely the dialectical relation between dreaming and waking. Benjamin uses the category of 'dream' as a model for describing the state of political unconsciousness, characteristic of modern urban culture. The phantasmagorias disseminated by capitalism and consumerism induce to a dream-like state or collective dream, whose spell may only be discharged through analysis and interpretation.³⁴¹ In this context, dream is analogue to ideology, and awakening is equivalent to the critical interpretative moment, in which false appearances are dissipated. The dispelling of the myths of modernity can be attempted by means of dialectical images, i.e. images that placed together produce such tension, that it is possible to see the ideological elements behind myths.

Based on this idea, I develop in this chapter an exercise of comparison of images analyzed in former chapters. The constellations of images will be integrated by the combination of advertising images of the city, taken from the *Be Berlin* campaign, idealized stamps of the city created for tourists, and images produced by citizen movements. All these images represent utopian envisions of what the city *is* or *might be*, according to different actors, and contain a series of myths about the city, which will be suddenly visible when they were placed together with their counterparts.

³⁴¹ See: Tyrus Miller, "From City-dreams to the Dreaming Collective: Walter Benjamin's Political Dream Interpretation," *Philosophy Social Criticism* 22, no. 87 (1996).

4.1. City Image and Myths

I use the term 'myth' to refer to some of the ideas enhanced in the city image spread by the *Be Berlin* campaign; following the meaning that Roland Barthes confers to this word.³⁴² Barthes describes *myths* as cultural values and beliefs expressed at a connotative level. Myth is a set of rules and conventions through which meanings, which are specific to certain groups, are made to seem universal and given for a whole society. Myth allows the connotative meaning of a particular image to appear to be denotative, and therefore natural.³⁴³ This way, myths play a central role in bourgeois ideology, transforming historical products and contingent realities in essential types, which appear as innocent and natural. Myth "abolishes the complexity of human acts" and "gives them the simplicity of essences", and "organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth". "The further the bourgeois class propagates its representations, the more naturalized they become".³⁴⁴

The dream worlds created by city advertising can be demystified by comparing them with counter-images that show a different interpretation of reality and different ways of experiencing and imagining the city. These counter-images are depictions of spaces free of the urge of consumerism which escape to the logic of capitalism. In that sense, they can counterbalance the one-dimensional image of the city shown by the campaign. The world views and conceptions of different groups will be confronted in these constellations.

³⁴² Barthes, *Mythologies*.

³⁴³ Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 19.

³⁴⁴ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 140, 237.

4.2. Method

The images produced by each group of actors described along this work (Government, tourism Industry and citizens movements) are presented hereafter in small groups, according to their topics and motifs, with the aim of building constellations that expose the conflicts and tensions between them. This idea, also resemble Aby Warburg's' atlas, which starts from the idea that images placed together in a certain way, may offer the possibility of rereading the world in a new way.³⁴⁵

This chapter has the aim of exploring a methodological approach of using images to analyze the urban phenomena. The images that I have collected for this work are microcosms of the contemporary Berlin and show the social forces, processes of struggle, opposition and negotiations between different groups. They are also projections of the way these groups see, live and interpret the city. According to Benjamin, ideas come to life only when extremes are assembled around them.³⁴⁶ That is why I propose juxtaposing images that reflect oppositional world views, expecting that their differences may give the space of reflection to demystify them.

Down below I present six groups of images, describing six main issues: City's History and Memory, urban change, commercialization of the city, public participation, subcultures and multiculturalism. In each group, a myth about Berlin is promoted or dismantled.

³⁴⁵ Georges Didi-Huberman, *Atlas: How to Carry the World on One's Back?* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia (MNCARS), 2010), 19.

³⁴⁶ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. London, 1985, 35. Quoted in Matthew Rampley, "From Symbol to Allegory: Aby Warburg's Theory of Art," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (1997): 52.

4.3. Constellations

4.3.1. Berlin as Palimpsest: Mythologizing Memory

In the *Be Berlin* Campaign, urban landscape is represented as a combination of buildings and elements from different historic periods, shaping an ensemble of historic layers, similar to the idea of ‘urban palimpsest’ described by Andreas Huyssen.³⁴⁷ In different parts of the brochure the idea of “the new standing next to the old” is described as a distinctive feature of the city, and it is also represented visually. In figure 182 (left) for example, the emblematic modern buildings of *Potsdamer Platz* are shown side by side with a segment of the Berlin Wall, symbolizing a “mix of past and future”, as described in the brochure’s text.

The postcard on the right side of figure 182 shows an analogous configuration. The modern cityscape in the area of *Potsdamer Platz* is portrayed as backdrop for the Holocaust Memorial, with the same combination of past and future recalled on the brochure. This way, history is introduced not as an element of contrast, but as a complement of the modern image of the *new* Berlin. The historical reference does not act as counterpoint for the contemporary development; neither entails a reference point for imagining a different future. It rather functions to reinforce and legitimize the present. “A world metropolis wants its own holocaust monument and its world trade center. They promote each other”, asserts the urban critic Dieter Hoffman-Axthelm.³⁴⁸ In both images the modern cityscape is endowed with an element of tradition and local identity when photographed beside the historical element. At the same time, traces of traumatic

³⁴⁷ See: Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003); Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*.

³⁴⁸ Hoffmann-Axthelm, “Psychogeographie”.

historical events are neutralized with an optimistic image of progress, symbolized by the high-corporate buildings.

A very different approach is found on the images produced by citizens. In some of the pictures uploaded by users to the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* for example, the presence of historic buildings introduces an element of tension to decay, either the falsification of history (figure 183, left), or its demise (figure 183 right, figure 184). This way, contrary to the narrative of the *Be Berlin* campaign, Berliners perceive and condemn the erasure of historical traces from the urban landscape.

The common place that Berlin is the city where history may be experienced “at first hand” hides the partial selection of which historical episodes were considered as worthy to be remembered and commemorated. The historical traces in the urban landscape have been carefully selected, according to subjective criteria of what episodes should be conserved and which ones should be erased. These criteria do not necessarily represent the opinions of the plurality of Berliners.

4.3.2. Berlin Then & Now: Mythologizing Urban Change

Urban change is the main topic of the ‘Then & Now’ pictures. On figure 185 we see three different images that employ this strategy: one was taken from the *Be Berlin* brochure (left), the two other are postcards (center and right). In the two first pictures, urban change is presented in the fashion of a lineal development directed toward progress. “The construction of a linear chronology, together with a sense of the ‘otherness’ of the past, are only achieved by the

establishment of a space between 'then' and 'now'", asserts Matthew Rampley.³⁴⁹ The contemporary shots on the bottom show a shiny and new landscape, in strong contrast with the desolate landscape of the older pictures. This combination delivers an optimistic message in which, the actual time epitomizes the victory of democracy and the recovery of freedom and normality. The popular postcards of the 'Then & Now' series offer to tourists astonishing testimonies of the transformation and recovery of the city, after both World War II and Cold War, but they are also a political statement, which exploit the appeal that such optimistic interpretations of History holds.

A counter argument is presented in the historical *Then & Now* postcard on the right side of figure 185. In this picture we observe a nostalgic representation of *Potsdamer Platz* as the busiest spot in the city on the 1920's, contrasting with the deserted landscape from the time when the postcard was produced and distributed during Cold War. This way, the postcard elaborates a nostalgic discourse, in which the past is shown as better. The political intentionality of the 'Then & Now' postcards is even more evident when we compare them with other images created with a similar strategy by German photographer Stefan Koppelkamm (figure 186). As I already argued in Chapter Two, Koppelkamm's pictures exhibit a clear documentary character, which we do not observe in postcards or in the *Be Berlin* brochure.

An additional element to understand the way that urban change is interpreted by the city government emerges from another set of the 'Then & Now' pictures taken from the *Be Berlin* brochure (figure 187). These pictures, comparing buildings from different times but similar functions or symbolical

³⁴⁹ Matthew Rampley, "Archives of Memory: Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project and Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas," in *The Optic Of Walter Benjamin*, ed. Alex Coles, 107.

meaning, invoke ideas of stability, tradition and historical continuity. The title of the section itself (“From ‘Electropolis’ to High-tech Location”) reveals this intention, while the similarities in the shape of the buildings are also used to highlight continuity (from the ‘cathedrals of work’ to a modern *Kathedrale des Verkehrs*). This combination of pictures suggests a notion of historical development as destiny, in which Berlin meant to be a capital city for industry, modern transportation and technology, from the 19th Century to the present.

By its part, the website of *Prinzessinengarten* presents also some examples of before/after pictures that illustrate the transformation of the spot where the garden is currently located, from a neglected plot to a lively community garden (figure 188). Nevertheless, there is a remarkable difference between the images of the *Be Berlin* brochure, and those produced by the administrators of the garden. The difference lies in the accompanying pictures that constantly underline the performance of neighbors in this change (figure 189, top). The same idea is also present in pictures of the *Mauerpark Stiftung* (figure 190), and in almost all the materials produced by citizens movements described in Chapter Three. In them we observe several pictures of members of the community working and digging to improve and transform the spaces where their projects are being developed (figure 189, bottom). This way, urban change is represented as a result of the direct action of people, and agency is a central topic in almost all the brochures and materials they produce.

To sum up, we can assert that urban change is a central issue in the city image of Berlin. The *Be Berlin* campaign represents ambivalent images of change, characterizing the city as a site with a landscape that conserves several traces of its History, but that at the same time has recovered the wholeness of its

urban texture. The campaign underlines change as the vocation of the city, but also counteracts any sense of discomfort that it may evoke with a discourse that also refers to tradition and stability. The city described by the brochure is changeable enough to be exciting; but also conserves elements of stability that eliminate any sense of anguish or uneasiness. This ambiguity is presented as one of the main attractions of the city, also in postcards, in which it is not rare to find pictures of construction sites as part of the natural landscape of the city (figure 191). In both cases the producers of the pictures respond to the urge of capitalism for offering always something new and different for everyone, while capitalizing the psychological positive reaction that the idea of change may entail, since “constant change allows hope that the future can be better”.³⁵⁰

4.3.3. The City as Commodity

The most common images depicted in postcards are emblematic buildings and spots of a city, whose images are collected by visitors as souvenirs of their trips. Postcards offer images of the most distinctive and attractive places of a destination to be visually consumed and appropriated, and Berlin postcards are not an exception. In a regular souvenir shop, the most prominent images are those of new-impressive buildings, like the Sony Center, the new Chancellery, the gleaming Reichstag's cupola or the Main Central Station, which successfully represent the image of a vibrant and modern metropolis (figure 192). But in Berlin, one can also find several postcards depicting emblematic places of the 'alternative' scene, like the art center *Tacheles*, characteristic pieces of street-art,

³⁵⁰ Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*, XI.

or façades of former squats (figure 193). It is also common to find postcards of extinct places, like GDR buildings or street-views of peculiar houses from the immediate years after reunification, which communicate a sense of nostalgia for a lost past, probably regarded as more authentic or simpler than the present time (figure 194). Furthermore, there are also many postcards showing vistas linked to the left-radical political scene, which seems to be regarded as a distinctive element of the atmosphere of the city (figure 195). Any place and any practice are likely to be appropriated by the tourism industry to create appealing images that elicit the curiosity and imagination of visitors, and they are able to consume as souvenirs. Whether the visitor dreams of a modern metropolis, or of a vibrant subcultural scene, postcards have an image for everyone, and under this approach any characteristic of the city may be turned into a commodity.

The campaign *Be Berlin* shows a similar approach. The imagery of the campaign interpellates viewers as white middle- or upper-class people, by offering desirable images of glamorous and youthful lifestyles of ‘cool’ and successful Berliners, photographed in cafes, shops, nightclubs or art venues (figure 196). These lifestyles turn to be the commodity that the advertising campaign sells, inviting the viewer to be part of it, by visiting, investing or moving to Berlin, “the place to be” (figure 197).

This market-oriented vision of the city held by the local government is expressed in the well-known motto that City Major Klaus Wowereit coined to describe the city: “Berlin is arm, aber sexy” (Berlin is poor, but sexy). This renowned phrase shares the logic of publicity, which assigns human qualities to commodities, representing them as sexy, romantic or ‘cool’.

Similarly, the posters produced to announce the failed opening of the Berlin-Brandenburg Airport in 2013 (figure 198) shows the new building covered with a white cloth and a red lace, making it look like a present. The image clearly recalls the spectacular visual effect of the wrapped *Reichstag*, intervened in 1995 by artists Christo and Jean-Claude; but it only takes the most superficial sense of that action and, by the addition of the red lace, trivializes it, incorporating the edifice to a logic in which buildings are trophies that increase the appealing and importance of a city. It is a logic in which, as David Harvey has asserted, “everything can be treated as commodity”.³⁵¹

In contrast, many images created by citizen movements criticize the commercial approach of some urban projects conducted by the city government. In many contesting movements, citizens express a strong rejection to those plans and policies that they consider that only meet the interests of corporations and urban elites (figure 199). Almost every urban project that has been object of protests by part of citizens in Berlin entails some level of discomfort with the apparent detachment of city urban planners with the public good, such the case been in the controversies around *Mediaspree*, *Tempelhofer Feld*, East Side Gallery, *Mauerpark*, BBI Airport, luxury projects vs. social housing, and so on.

In this sense, the contrast that we find between the slogan of the campaign and some of its satirical adaptations (figure 200) is quite meaningful, and may show two sides of the same coin. The urban project fostered by the government privileges economic development by attracting investors, professionals and visitors, who might bring money to the city. With this purpose, *Berlin Partner* designed an elitist city image, in which some sectors of population who do not fit

³⁵¹ Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 165–72.

the model are excluded. The image of the campaign coincides with the urban model prompted by the local government and works to its service. But the social consequences are still there, obviously not in the glamorous city image promoted in the campaign, but they are still present in expressions of social confrontation and polarization.

4.3.4. The City that We Dream of: Mythologizing Public Participation

The comparison of these pictures also shows that the city image embraced by some of the citizen movements differs from the one promoted by the local government in at least two main aspects: the density and height of new buildings is considerably different; and the importance given to accessibility and quality of open public areas is also dissimilar. In a graphic created by *Mediaspree Versenken* (figure 201, right) we observe that they reject high buildings and high-density spaces, and advocate for a model of city with low buildings, open-green areas and a river shore widely accessible for pedestrians. A similar idea is also defended by the *Mauerpark Stiftung* (figure 202, right). These two graphics contrast with the image promoted by the *Be Berlin* campaign, in which high buildings are considered as symbols of modernity and economic wealth, and that regards the recovered density of city blocks as a sign of recuperation and aloofness from traumatic historical memories (figures 201 and 202, left). In this respect we observe an opposite approach to reconstruction and recovery in both sides. While city government seems to pursue a city image in which predominates a sense of wholeness, many citizens groups consider that unfinished open spaces are quite valuable as spaces for experimentation (the case of the former *Tempelhof* airport is the best-known example of it).

Another instance of this opposition between official and citizen's conceptions is the Berlin-Brandenburg Airport (figure 203). It is not a surprise that images produced by both actors are dissimilar, since we are comparing antagonistic opinions. But it is nonetheless interesting to notice the differences in regards to the codes of representation. The official images are mainly computer simulations in soft colors, which suggest a futuristic idea of the new Airport as a symbol of modernity and hope. The contesting neighbors' movements in contrast, use bright and lively colors to represent the violence with which airplanes intrude in the everyday life of their communities.

The opposition is also present in regards to the topic of public space. In figure 204 we see some examples of the way that social movements represent the street, as a space for a variety of political expressions, from creative manifestations organized by *Prinzessinengarten* (top left) to street riots depicted in the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle* (bottom left). Even postcards represent the political mobilizations in *Kreuzberg* during May the 1st (bottom right). In contrast, *Be Berlin* draws a utopian image of a non-political population, who gets together only to consume and spend for entertainment purposes. The only picture in the brochure where we see people gathered on the streets is a picture of the Berlin Marathon (top right).

This way we observe a strong opposition in the way that different actors address the issue of public participation. The *Be Berlin* campaign claims to promote a city that has something to offer for everyone, and takes plurality and tolerance as key concepts of its discourse. The election of the speech balloon as the main visual element of the campaign allegedly follows the idea of offering an open device that is flexible enough to catch the points of view of all Berliners.

Nevertheless, in the spots around the city where the speech balloon was placed, it rather works as an ambiguous mechanism for saying nothing or for letting the market 'speak' on its own (figure 205, left). There is no text or voices of citizens, only images of buildings framed by the 'democratic device'. This situation is symptomatic of a campaign concerned mainly with image, which offers a portrait of the city that is more about a display of catwalks and red carpets than the promotion of civic values and identity (figure 206). Rather than finding a device to make their voices heard in the speech balloon, citizens have had to create their own spaces for expression, being banners and graffiti popular mediums to make their points of view visible (figures 205 and 207, right). No matter what the alleged civic purposes of the campaign may be, in the end it is all about pure and plain advertising.

In sum, images created by some sectors of inhabitants reveal a deep discrepancy with the official urban policies and conceptions about the way the city ought to be shaped. But at the same time, such images also show a strong commitment with an active participation of citizens in the discussion and decision-making of urban issues. The *Be Berlin* campaign, in contrast, promotes an elitist vision of the city, which claims to be democratic and open, but that in its imagery proves to be exactly the opposite. It promotes a model of citizen, who is engaged with economic success and consumption, one who is interested in leisure and culture, who is not politically active, and for whom History and cultural diversity are consumption items.

4.3.5. The 'Edgy' City: Mythologizing Berlin Subcultures

Among the many motifs linked to the city image of Berlin, graffiti is probably one of the most recurrent. In Berlin's imagery, graffiti is mainly associated with two elements: on one hand, the colorful graffiti of the Berlin Wall with all its political connotations; and on the other hand, to a penchant for neglected buildings and walls covered with graffiti, as marks of subcultural spaces and practices.

Photographs depicting graffiti are present in the materials of each of the three kind of actors described in this work (figure 208). In the *Be Berlin* campaign for example, we observe two images showing graffiti (top row). On the first picture, the historical graffiti of the Berlin Wall is photographed, recalling the subcultural scene of Berlin from the 1970's and 1980's. On the second picture we see a segment of the Wall, covered with more recent layers of paint, sprayed by contemporary anonymous graffiti artists.

In postcards (middle row), we find the historical graffiti of the Berlin Wall again, but also some pictures of façades of extinct squats, as well as contemporary examples, still visible in places like *Tacheles* or *Mauerpark*. This way, postcards refer to the origin of this tradition, but also to a cultural practice which is yet alive.

Alternatively, citizen movements photograph graffiti only in a contemporary context (bottom row), and never as the main motif of the pictures. Graffiti is rather a sort of background, mainly associated to a preference towards the DIY culture, and recalling its political symbolism, as an appropriation of public space.

This way, in the first two cases, the anti-establishment elements of graffiti (alternative aesthetic, political critic, challenging of bourgeois identity, illegal

practice) have been neutralized, and graffiti is transformed into an empty symbol of 'coolness'. It is taken as a signifier of youth street-culture, to be marketed to middle and upper-class consumers to make them look edgy and 'cool'.³⁵²

In figure 209 we see a comparison of two images of the amphitheater in *Mauerpark*, one from a postcard (left side) and the other from the brochure of the *Mauerpark Stiftung* (right side). In the postcard, graffiti is the main motif of the picture, being people or activities developed in the place secondary aspects, which are scarcely present. The second picture, in contrast, shows a crowded amphitheater on a Sunday, during one of the sessions of the popular *Bearpit Karaoke*. Graffiti is not visible in the second picture, thus the topic of the photograph is the function of the place, and not its image treated as decoration.

Similarly, we can compare two images of a famous graffiti created by street artist *Blu*, located in a plot on *Cuvrystrasse* in Berlin-Kreuzberg (figure 210). The image on the left side was taken from a postcard, while the other comes from the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle*. On the postcard, the graffiti appears on the background, with the street name sign on the foreground, and a group of young people walking on the sidewalk beside a series of posters announcing concerts. The graffiti is depicted as a benchmark of the club scene that flourishes around *Cuvrystrasse*, which is the main topic of the postcard. On the second picture, in contrast, the graffiti appears on the background, while on the foreground we see a billboard announcing a real estate project to be developed in the plot. In this case, the photograph underlines the imminent transformation of the vacant plot where street art flourishes in a complex of offices.

³⁵² Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*, 2nd ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 86.

Finally, we can also compare the representation of political graffiti in a postcard with an image taken from the brochure *Wir bleiben Alle* (figure 211). The postcard shows a political statement presented as a tourist attraction, while the second picture shows the graffiti *alive*, challenging the barrier formed by police to decry rent increasing and evictions.

We observe a significant divergence in the way of representing graffiti: for some contesting movements, it possesses a political character, and means a tactic for appropriating space and defying authoritarian speech. In the advertising campaign and postcards, conversely, graffiti is reduced to a symbol of subcultures and an image to be consumed. This way, graffiti constitutes a key element in the construction of the myth of subcultures, from which only its aesthetic aspect remains. Dilapidated buildings, playfully-decorated, evoke a state of ingenuity that is represented with a longing for authenticity, while facing a generalized disappointment with the icons of material progress. Postcards and *Be Berlin* show blatantly both: ruin and progress, thus both may be equally appealing for the common tourist and for the members of the 'creative class'.

4.3.6. The Multicultural City: Mythologizing Cosmopolitanism

One more issue that arises when comparing the images is the representation of ethnic minorities and non-German people. Figure 212, for example, compares two images of immigrants, one from the *Be Berlin* campaign, and the other from an ironic postcard created by the *Initiative gegen Abschiebehaft* (Initiative against Deportation). The first image is a shot of Vladimir Kaminer, a Russian-born writer and DJ who immigrated to Germany after the fall of the Wall, and who has become a local personality in the city. The brochure

seems to present him as a paradigmatic example of successful integration. The second image, in contrast, shows an illegal immigrant in a detention center. These both images represent two sides of the same issue: immigration.

Immigration is no doubt, one of the great issues of this millennium. It has acquired great relevance throughout Europe, but it is especially relevant in public discussions in Germany, due to the outburst of large numbers of immigrants in the recent years. In 2014, Germany has risen to become the number two destination for immigration in the world, according to a survey conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); only behind the United States.³⁵³ The phenomenon of immigration has two main relevant aspects in Germany, present in the pictures I analyze. On one hand, there is a need of skilled labor that has led to the implementation of public policies to attract skilled and educated foreign workers, from which the *Be Berlin* campaign is only an example.³⁵⁴ On the other hand, there is an increasing wave of illegal immigrants arriving to the country, often as asylum seekers. The insufficient infrastructure to manage the great number of newcomers, together with the complexity of issues related to cultural difference and integration, have brought an intense discussion, from which the *Sarrazin* affaire (2010), and the following declarations of Chancellor Merkel that multiculturalism has “utterly failed” are only some expressions.

The two images that I compare here represent two dissimilar views on the issue of immigration. The *Be Berlin* campaign presents the side of the immigration

³⁵³ Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, “Is Migration Really Increasing?,” *Migration Policy Debates*, May 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/berlin/is-migration-really-increasing.pdf>

³⁵⁴ Tamar Jacoby, “Germany’s Immigration Dilemma: How Can Germany Attract the Workers It Needs?,” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 2 (2011).

phenomena considered as desirable, while the second picture raise the issue of the inhuman conditions of asylum and detention centers in which seekers spend the waiting time for the result of their applications.³⁵⁵

In spite that the inclusion of immigrants, like Vladimir Kaminer, among the exemplary Berliners presented by the campaign might be praised, the representation of non-Germans in the brochure is not utterly adequate. Another example is shown in figure 212. On the right side we see the picture of the only dark-skinned person in the brochure, an African woman in the Carnival of Cultures. The image on the left side, in contrast, shows another woman, working in the *Prinzessinengarten*. In the first picture, the woman is depicted as an exotic attraction, surrounded by costumes and in a festive atmosphere. The second picture, in contrast, shows a more day-to-day context. This way, cultural diversity seems to be, under the perspective of the city advertising, another appealing feature of the city presented, just like subcultures or GDR views, as an invitation to consume 'otherness'.

One more image, taken from one of the billboards of the campaign, depicts two students, presumably with migration backgrounds, from the *Rütli* High-school in Berlin-Neukölln (figure 214, left). The *Rütli* School was on the center of public debate in 2006, due to a letter that a group of teachers, concerned with the high levels of violence and low academic performance of students, wrote to the Berlin Senate to request the closure of the school. The case led to intense discussions on the state of education and the ill-fated results of integration policies.

³⁵⁵ Martin Kreickenbaum, "Scandalous Conditions in German Refugee Centres," International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/09/13/refu-s13.html>

The topic of the poster is the project *Rütli Wear*, implemented after the scandal, with the aim of revitalizing the image of the school and to motivate students, by making them part of a fashion workshop, where they design and produce their own T-shirts and fashion accessories. The artificial character of the picture is evident when we compare the poster with some pictures of the students, taken from the website of the project, and shot in an everyday context (figure 214, center and right). Even if people, their clothes, and the poses are similar in all the images, in the poster, the figures of the students were added to an artificial backdrop with a catwalk, giving them the look of an idealized advertising photo. The notion derived from this montage is that regular people, and especially marginal population, may be integrated to the image of 'fashionable Berlin' only to the extent that they assimilate to the model promoted by the government. They have to fit the pattern of what is desirable if they are going to be part of the image of 'the place to be'.

Due to the great relevance of the issues related to the pictures analyzed in this section, it would be desirable that the campaign showed a more adequate representation of ethnicity, especially when the campaign was allegedly designed to improve the identification of Berliners with their city. This need is especially relevant considering the variety of expressions of polarization, emerging here and there in many neighbors of Berlin, like the graffiti with hatred messages against Swabians (*Schwabenhasse*) in *Prenzlauer Berg*, the anti-tourism wave in *Kreuzberg*, plenty of anti-gentrification protests all around the city, and the anti-migration clashes in the East Side (figure 215).

4.4. Conclusions

Comparing the representation of urban changes produced by each of the three sectors analyzed in this work we observe important differences between the official city image and the variety of images created by social movements. At the same time, we observe that the city image embraced by the producers of the advertising campaign share several elements with the images of the tourism industry.

In the imagery created by the campaign, we observe a series of topics closely related to the mass-democratic myth of industrial modernity.³⁵⁶ From them, a worldview based on faith in social and historical progress emerges, reached by means of technology, science and market economy. The imagery created by social movements in contrast, comprises various images that challenge some of the assumptions of the official image. Firstly, all the social movements express a great discomfort with the official plans and policies. Secondly, they underline community values over individuality, and express the desire of enhancing social connectedness. Thirdly, they challenge urban projects which are only focused on trading profits, and claim for prioritizing collective interest and environmental issues over financial gains. Fourthly, some of them, like the groups against the BBI Airport, point the negative effects of technology out; while some others, like the *Prinzessinengarten* or the *Mauerpark Stiftung*, show images that reveal a longing for returning to a state of nature and innocence. Finally, almost all of them seem to support the construction of spaces where different values can be practiced, like the *RAW Temple e.V.* and its utopian

³⁵⁶ Susan Buck-Morss defines it as: "The belief that the industrial reshaping of the world is capable of bringing about the good society by providing material happiness for the mass". Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*, IX.

project of alternative community. In short, we observe a collective rejection of a model of society shaped under the assumptions of post-industrial modernity, which mirrors the common topos of modernity as “a rootless alienation form and loss of immediacy to Being.”³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Rampley, "From Symbol to Allegory", 53.

CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of this research was the analysis of the city image of Berlin, as it is represented by three main actors: the local government, the tourism industry and a variety of social movements. In the first three chapters of this work I described and analyzed a collection of images produced by these actors, highlighting their political meaning and the assumptions they contain about a variety of topics like urban change, historical memory, and the production and appropriation of space.

It was established in the first chapter that the official image produced by the local government has important limitations as regards to the inclusion of a wide plurality of inhabitants' points of view and their respective spatial practices. It became clear that the urban project led by the government is strongly focused on specific segments of the public, namely investors, tourists, and highly qualified professionals of the so called 'creative sectors'. The second chapter demonstrated that the city image spread by the tourism industry shares a series of similarities with the city image of the *Be Berlin* campaign, and that both tend to neutralize the contradictions and tensions present in the social arena. Finally, the third chapter showed that the city image produced by social movements differs consistently with the image of the two other actors, in particular with respect to the role of citizens in the production of urban spaces, and the perception of conflicts and tensions between urban actors.

The backbone of the research was the collected visual material, from which, the issues to be discussed were drawn. In the initial phase of the research I delimited the urban actors to be analyzed. Then, I searched printed materials produced by them that had a considerable level of circulation and dissemination,

and that included their representations of the city. I selected those images that I considered the most relevant to the topic of architecture and urban projects from each piece of material. Then, I analyzed the assumptions enhanced in the images and classified them, according with their common topics or motifs. Finally, I compared the images and proceeded to draw conclusions from them.

I concluded that the similarities that I found between the images of the first two chapters are linked to the common commercial approach to the urban phenomena that they share, and the common aim of creating an appealing city image for a target group. Conversely, the differences between the images produced by social movements and those of the local government emerge from a widespread dissatisfaction with the urban model based on the premises of post-industrial modernization and neoliberalism. Social movements openly reject some aspects of the official urban approach like commercialization, displacement, low availability of social housing, and decline of public space.

This research contributes to the knowledge of the ways that social actors perceive their urban milieus, and the ideal models of city that they pursue. Additionally, it reveals the way that inhabitants perceive some of the official urban policies and projects, and the tactics that they use to appropriate such spaces and to transform them according to their own needs and interests. The research also shows the elitist and commercial character of, at least, one portion of the materials produced by the local government. But it also enriches this city image with other relevant issues, propounded by a wider selection of urban actors.

The images analyzed in this work are an expression of the worldviews of their producers, but also a vehicle to spread such views. They reflect collective wishes and dreams, but also offer a repertoire of significant issues to take into

account to understand the complexity of urban processes, and to find contact points between what different social actors think that the city could or should be.

The analysis conducted in this research was constrained to a specific set of images and materials, which might be extended in future works. The analyzed pictures, for example, were taken in this sample from one single brochure. It would be commendable that other materials produced by the city government were examined in a further study. Furthermore, the analysis of the citizen's points of view might be extended to other actors, like artists or the media, and not only to contesting movements. This way, the complexity of the urban phenomena could be better described and understood. The proposed method of comparing images from different scopes proves to be an interesting approach that allows a richer comprehension of the assumptions that imagery implies and the functions that it fulfills.

Many topics addressed by the social movements analyzed in this work are a direct reaction to the urban policies implemented in the city since the 'neoliberal turn'. In that regards, the analyzed groups share the common goal of strengthening social solidarity and reducing the dominant role of the market, the influence of particular interests in public issues, and the increasing socio-spatial polarization. The function of the images created by *Be Berlin*, in contrast, seem to have the function of contributing to create consent for the economic project driven by the local government. They seem to be created "to persuade us that we are all better off under a neoliberal regime of freedoms".³⁵⁸

Holm explains that gentrification is often prepared and accompanied by "symbolic gentrification", which has the task of making a district more appealing

³⁵⁸ Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 38

for new renters and users, by means of medially prepared images, pictures, and representations.³⁵⁹ This way, the function of the pictures of the first two chapters is to construct appealing urban images that harmonize and reconcile, at least at a symbolical level, social relations. The images of the *Be Berlin* campaign aestheticize class relations, consumption patterns and social distinction. They also aestheticize a production of urban space which is highly exclusionary and even 'revanchist' (as described by Neil Smith). The resulting image fails to provide a multifaceted representation that different groups can identify with, and therefore social movements create utopias of their own. They produce and represent their own spaces, where they are able to find features that they do not find in the city.

From my point of view as a Latin-American researcher who has lived in a country with high levels of social polarization and low participation of citizens in decision-making, I consider that a well-organized and participatory citizenship is a quite valuable element, indispensable for counteracting the pervasive influence of capital in neoliberal governments and achieving more democratic forms of urban planning. Both the local government of Berlin and the federal German government should have the strongest interest in stimulating civic participation and inclusion, rather than privileging economic goals.

Quoting Antonio Gramsci, David Harvey asserts that political questions become 'insoluble' when 'disguised as cultural ones', and that is why we must learn to extract political meanings from their cultural integuments.³⁶⁰ In this work I examined and proposed a visual approach that can contribute to understand

³⁵⁹ Holm, "Urban Renewal" 119–20.

³⁶⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *Letters from Prison* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). Quoted by: Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 39–40.

some of the visual mechanisms employed to spread a limited view about what a city should or can be. The research was born of the conviction that a more pluralistic approach to urban issues is essential if we aim to bridge the gap between different city visions of the variety of urban actors. On the view of increasing expressions of social polarization, such as those we have seen recently in Dresden and many other German cities including Berlin, a multifaceted approach to the city phenomena is needed more than ever.

FIGURES

Chapter 1*



Fig. 1. The red speech balloon with the slogan: 'Be..., be... , be Berlin'.



Fig. 2. Logo of the *Be Berlin* campaign.



Fig. 3. A Bus with the logo of the campaign.

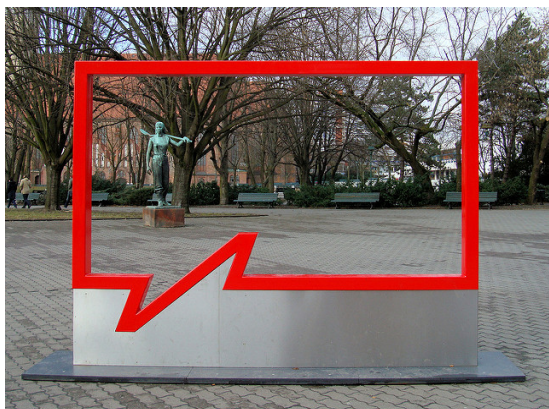


Fig. 4. The red speech balloon placed in popular sites around the city.

* The quality and color of some of the images contained in this document were changed for the on-line version due to copyright restrictions. By the same token, a watermark with the name of the author or the source of the material was also added in some cases.



Fig. 5. Prominent Berliners in the brochure *Be Berlin*.



Fig. 6. Pages 2 and 3 of the brochure *The Place to Be* (2009).



Fig. 7. Cover of the brochure *The Place to Be*, editions 2008 and 2009.



Fig. 8. Main image of section one of the brochure *The Place to Be* (2008).



Fig. 9. A comparison of the main image in section one in both editions 2008-2011 (left) and 2012 (right).



Fig. 10. The open exhibition *Topographie des Terrors*.
The building of the Federal Ministry of Finance is on the background.

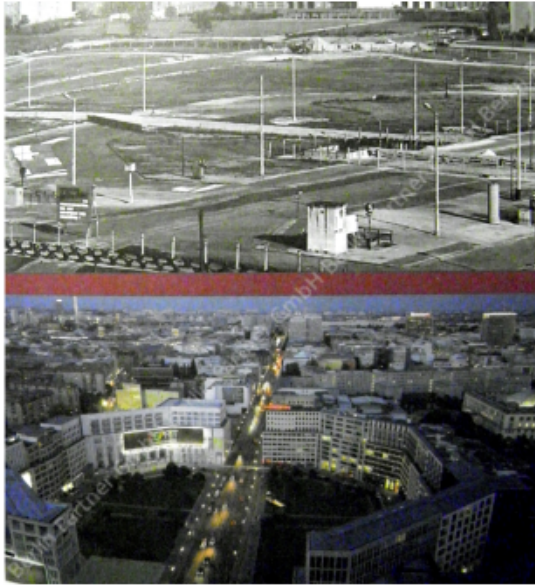


Fig. 11. Contrasting pictures of *Leipzigerplatz* on page 3 of the brochure (edition 2008).



Fig. 12. Pages 4 and 5 of the brochure (2008).

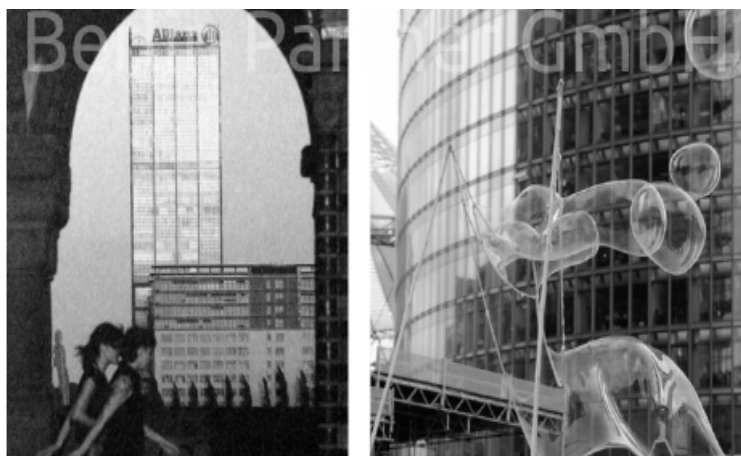


Fig. 13. The Allianz Tower in Berlin-Treptow, seen from the *Oberbaumbrücke* (left), and a close-up of the *Deutsche Bahn* tower in *Potsdamer Platz* (right).

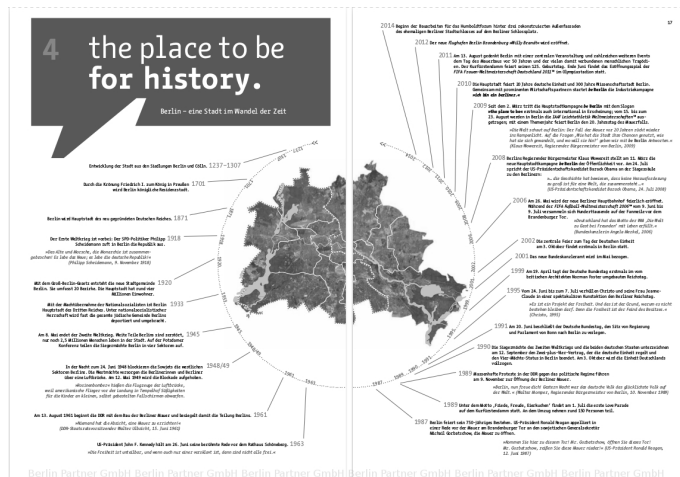


Fig. 14. Pages 16 and 17 of the brochure (2008).

Fig. 15. Image removed for copyright reasons.



Fig. 16. Page 6 of the brochure (2008).



Fig. 17. A comparison of the two images of the section 'Structural Transformation' of the brochure (left and right) with a historical postcard of the Main Train Station at Frankfurt am Main (center).



Fig. 18. Diverse pictures of *Hauptbahnhof* as it is portrayed by the official website of the city.



Fig. 19. Comparison of the pictures of *Hauptbahnhof* (top) and the BBI-Airport (bottom) on pages 6, 8, and 9 of the brochure.

[illegible]



Fig. 21. Images of pages 8 and 9: On the left side, a virtual image of the Museums Island created by *Twinty*; on the right side, the headquarters of Universal and the *Oberbaumbrücke*.



Fig. 22. Section 'Forschung' with two pictures: the Photonic Center in Berlin-Adlershof (top) and *Charité* (bottom).



Fig. 23. Section three of the brochure: 'The Place to Be for Art'.



Fig. 24. Left: Frieda Schulze escapes out of her apartment on the first floor of a building close to the border in Bernauer Str. 29 (25.9.1961). Photo: A. Waidmann, Ullstein Bild. Right: Main picture of the section 'Art' of the brochure.



Fig. 25. Pictures of pages 12 to 14 of the section 'Art' of the brochure (2008). The buildings on the upper right (clockwise) are: *Boros Sammlung*, *Staatsoper*, and *Komische Oper*.



Fig. 26. Page 15 of the brochure, section 'Art', devoted to fashion and design.



Fig. 27. Page 18 of the brochure (2008), section 'Science'.



Fig. 28. Image on page 20 of the brochure (2008): The Photonic Center in Berlin-Adlershof.



Fig. 29. Diverse images in the brochure depicting ordinary people in the city.



Fig. 30. People with migration backgrounds as portrayed in the brochure.



Fig. 31. Picture of a park on page 24 of the brochure (left), and from the advertising campaign *Das ist Berlin*, promoted by the local newspaper *Berliner Morgenpost* (right).



Fig. 32. Anti-tourists sticker.



Fig. 33. Some examples of architecture as photographed in the brochure *The Place to Be*. From upper left clockwise: *Deutsche Bahn Tower* in *Potsdamer Platz*, *The Philological Library* of the *FU-Berlin*, the *Photonic Center* in *Adlershof*, the *ARD Studio*, and *Leipziger Platz*.



Fig. 34. Cover page of sections *Business*, *Art*, and *Science*, with pictures on both opposite pages put in dialogue.



Fig. 35. Architecture as landscape: *Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berliner Dom, Allianz Tower and Hauptbahnhof.*



Fig. 36. Pictures of the interiors of remarkable buildings: the Jewish Museum, the Neues Museum and the exhibition of the Boros Collection.



Fig. 37. Three images parodying the campaign *Be Berlin* in a moderate tone.



Fig. 38. Four examples of critic images that make use of the main visual elements of the campaign.



Fig. 39. Four examples of the use of the elements of the Be Berlin campaign by radical leftist activists.

Chapter 2



Fig. 40. Postcards of the Government Buildings: Federal Chancellery and *Reichstag's* Cupola. Both postcards published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten. Photos: Günther Schneider.



Fig. 41. Four postcards representing the Modern Berlin.

Top left: "Potsdamer Platz. Fernsehturm". Pawlowski/G. Schneider. **Top right:** "Sony Center am Potsdamer Platz". Skowronski & Koch Verlag/Jürgen Henkelmann. **Bottom left:** "The New Central Station. Solemn Opening on 26 May 2006. Architects Von Gerkan, Marg & Partner". Publicon Verlagsgesellschaft/Katharina Dorn. **Bottom Right:** "Potsdamer Platz, 1939 verkehrsreichster Platz Europas. Heute wieder Dreh- und Angelpunkt der Metropole Berlin" (Potsdamer Platz, 1939 The Busiest Square of Europe. Today Again Crucial Point of the Berlin Metropolis). Schöning GmbH/ S. Rehberg.

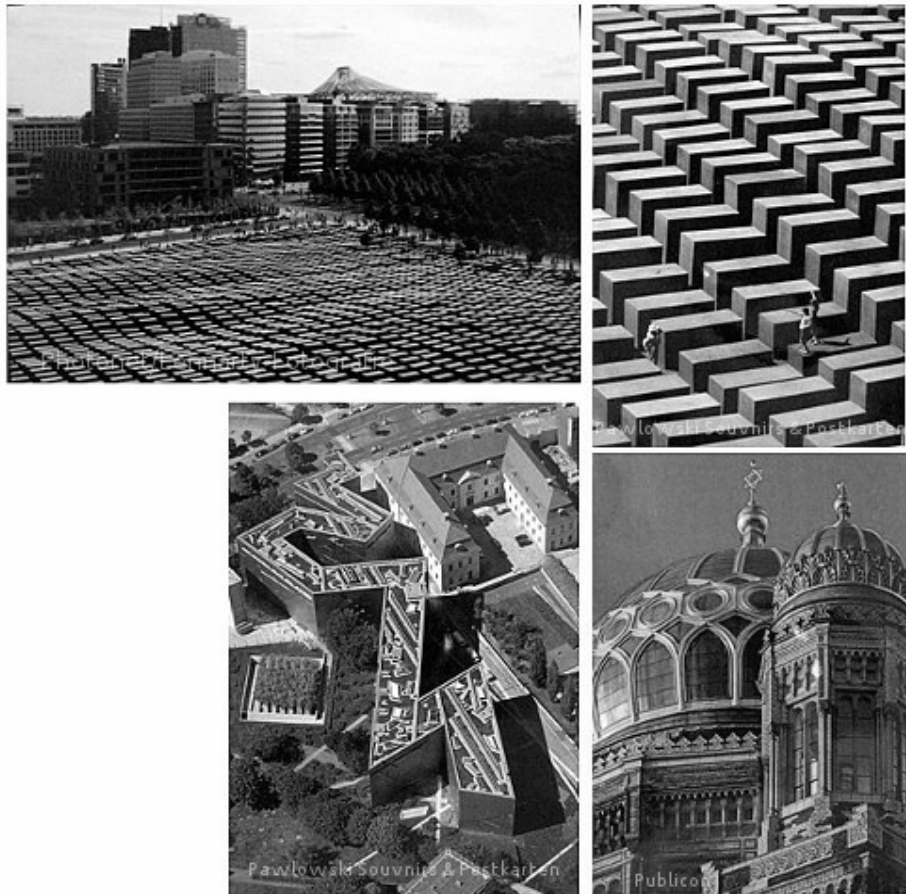


Fig. 42. Four postcards of historic landmarks in the city. **Top Left:** „Blick über das Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas auf Potsdamer Platz und Sony-Center“. Photonet/Lehnarty-Fotografie. **Top Right:** „Holocaust Mahnmal“. Pawlowski/G. Schneider. **Bottom Left:** „Jüdisches Museum“. Pawlowski/G. Schneider. **Bottom Right:** „The New Synagogue in the Oranienburg road“. Publicon/Rainer Gaertner.

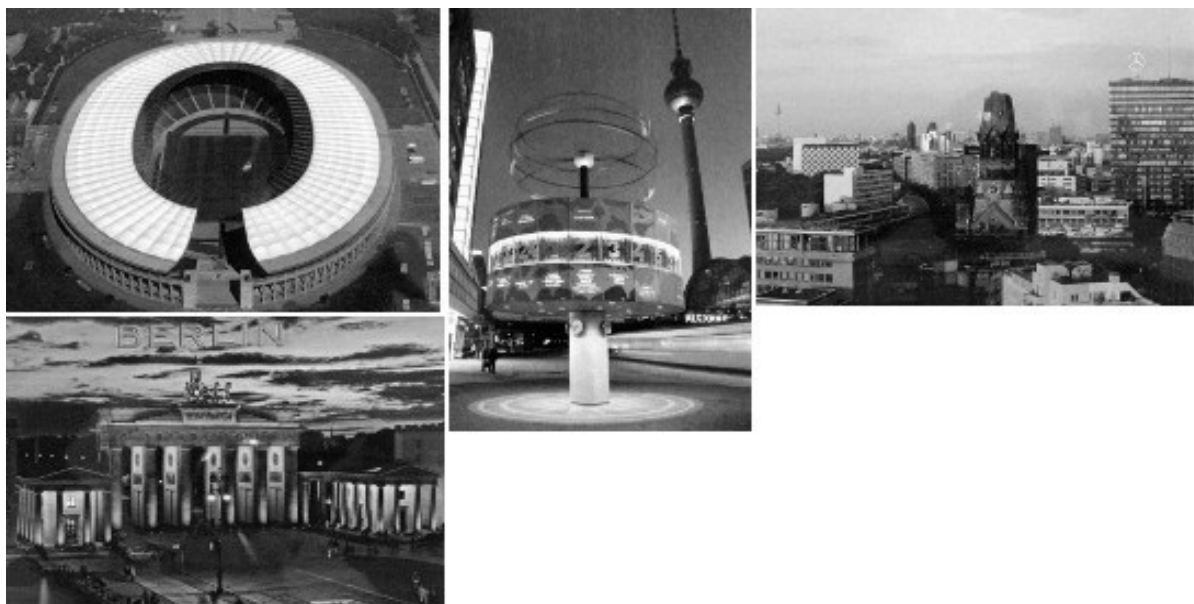


Fig. 43. Four postcards of historic landmarks in the city. **Top Left:** „Olympiastadion“. Pawlowski/G. Schneider. **Bottom Left:** „Brandenburger Tor“. Romanowski-Smile/Bernd Petrikat. **Center:** „Alexanderplatz“. Photo: G. Schnürer. **Right:** „Berlin-City Gedächtniskirche“. Pawlowski/G. Schneider



Fig. 44. Three postcards showing the Mediaspree area. **Top Left:** „Berlin: die Oberbaumbrücke“. Photo: René Menges. **Bottom Left:** „Berlin, Badeschiff auf der Spree“. Skowronski & Koch Verlag/G. Schneider. **Right:** „Molecule Men vor den Treptowers. Skulptur von Jonathan Borowsky“. Skowronski & Koch Verlag/Jürgen Henkelmann.

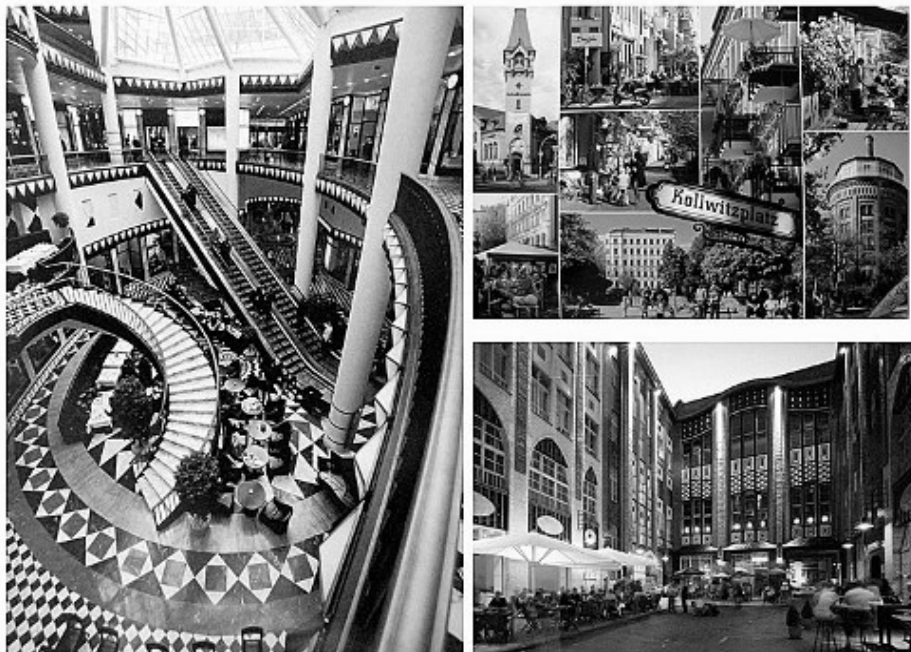


Fig. 45. Three postcards depicting the leisure offer of the city and the everyday. **Left:** „Friedrichstrasse Quartier 206“. Photo: J. Henkelmann. **Top Right:** „Kollwitzkiez“. Photos: Michael Haddenhorst. **Bottom Right:** „Hackesche Höfe“. Photo: M. Haddenhorst. All postcards edited by Skowronski & Koch Verlag.



Fig. 46. Three postcards showing the leisure and cultural offer of the city. **Top Left:** "Berlin, Tacheles, Oranienburger Strasse". Skowronski & Koch Verlag/Michael Haddenhorst. **Bottom Left:** „Mauerpark“. Photo: Gerd Schnürer. **Right:** Untitled postcard of the Volksbühne. From the series "Berlin erleben". Foto Irifi.



Fig. 47. Historical 'Then & Now' postcards of Potsdamer Platz (left) and Brandenburger Tor (right). Verlag Kunst und Bild. Taken from the website of heimatsammlung.de



Fig. 48. Postcard of Shanghai 'Then and Now'.

Fig. 49. Photo books of the series 'Then and Now'. Imaged deleted for copyright reasons.



Fig. 50. Sergey Larenkov, from the series „Berlin-Prague-Vienna 65 Years Later“.



Fig. 51. Postcard: "Brandenburger Tor 1945 und heute" (Brandenburg Gate 1945 and Today). Published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

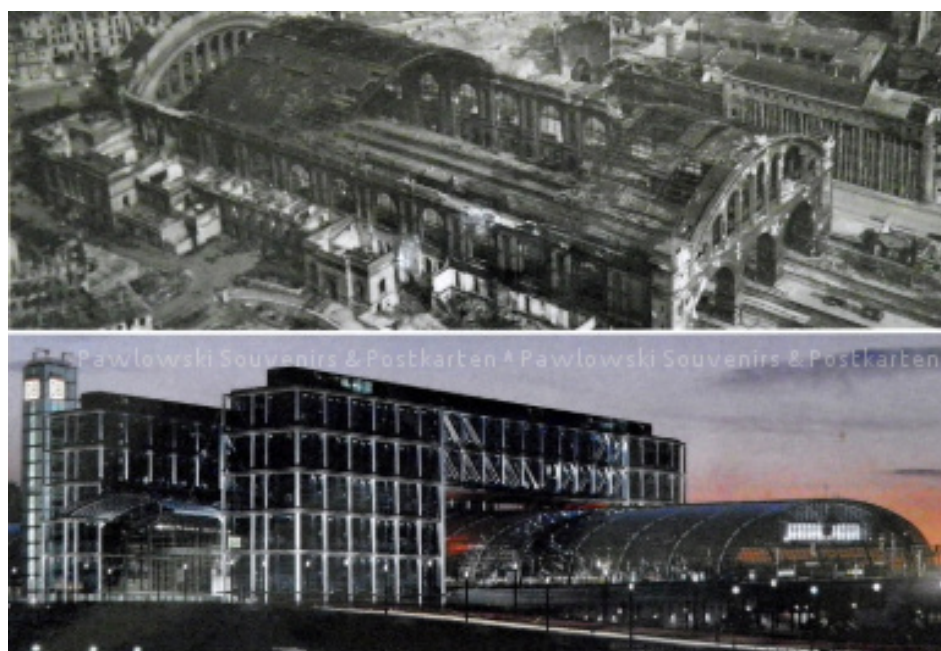


Fig. 52. Postcard: Anhalter Bahnhof 1945/Hauptbahnhof 2008. Published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.



Fig. 53. Right: The ruins of the destroyed *Lehrter Bahnhof*. Photograph taken from the exhibition “Kinder nach dem Krieg”, hosted by the *Deutsches Historisches Museum*. Left: *Lehrter Bahnhof* 1955. Photo: *Bundesarchiv*.



Fig. 54. The actual plot of the former *Anhalter Bahnhof* with the ruin of the facade on the low right.



Fig. 55. Postcard: “Reichstag 1945 und Heute” (Reichstag 1945 and today). Published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.



Fig. 56. Postcard: "Reichstag 1945 und Heute" (Reichstag 1945 and today). Published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 57. „Rauchschwaden über der Kuppel des Reichstags“ (Image deleted).



Fig. 58. "Trümmerfrauen vor dem zerstörten Reichstagsgebäude". Photo: Otto Donath. Bildarchiv Deutsches historisches Museum (Inventarnr. F65/2273).



Fig. 59. Postcard: "Reichstag 1945 und heute" (Reichstag 1945 and today). Published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

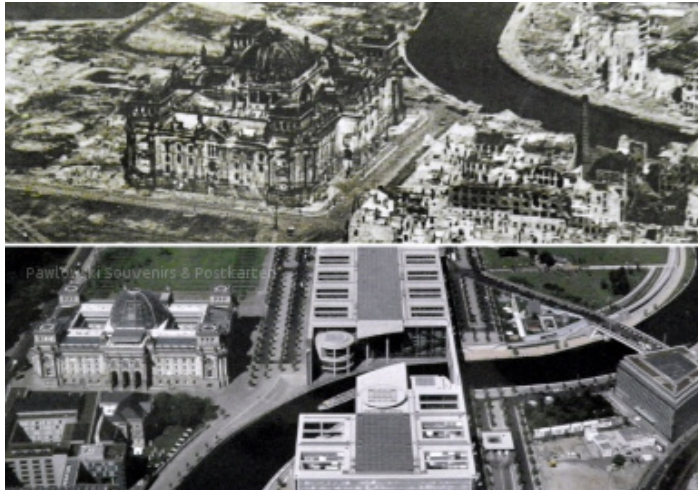


Fig. 60. Postcard: "Reichstag (Regierungsviertel) 1946 und heute" (Reichstag -Government Quarter- 1946 and today). Published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.



Fig. 61. Postcard: "Brandenburger Tor 1961 und heute" (Brandenburg Gate 1961 and today). Published by Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.



Fig. 62. Postcard: "Berlin, Brandenburger Tor 1985 und 2009". Skowronski & Koch Verlag, Berlin. Photos: Peter Stiebing und Wolfgang Skowronski.



Fig. 63. Postcard: "Die Berliner Mauer an der Zimmerstrasse zwischen Checkpoint Charlie und Martin-Gropius-Bau. Berlin 1986 und 2008" (The Berlin Wall in the Zimmerstrasse between Checkpoint Charlie and Martin Gropius Bau). Edition Panorama.

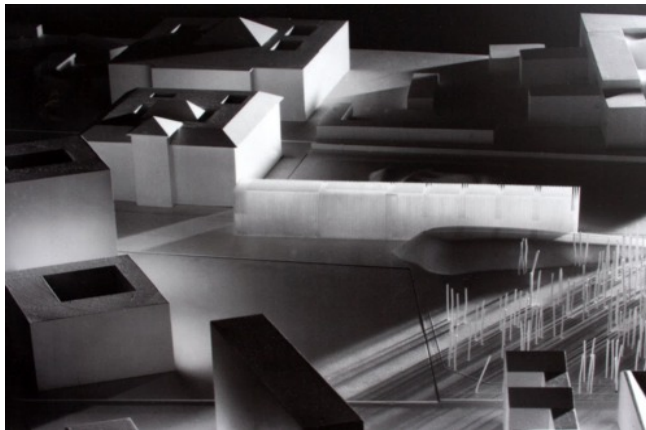


Fig. 64. Model of the design of Peter Zumthor for the documentation center *Topographies des Terrors* (1993).



Fig. 65. The new documentation center *Topographie des Terrors*, with a segment of the Berlin Wall and the former Ministry of Aviation on the background.



Fig. 66. Postcard: "Berlin, Potsdamer Platz 1961 und 2009". Skowronski & Koch Verlag, Berlin. Photos: AKG images and Jürgen Henkelmann.



Fig. 67. Kleine Hamburger Str., Berlin 1990/2002. Taken from the book *Ortszeit* by Stefan Koppelkamm.



Fig. 68. Leninallee 1991 (left), Merseburger Str. 2003 (right), in Halle. Taken from *Ortszeit* by Stefan Koppelkamm.



Fig. 69. Postcard: "Berlin, Tacheles, Oranienburger Strasse". Skowronski & Koch Verlag. Photo Michael Haddenhorst.



Fig. 70. Untitled postcard. From the series „Berlin erleben“. Edited by Foto-Irifi.de



Fig. 71. Courtyard of *Haus Schwarzenberg* in September 30, 2007



Fig. 72. Untitled postcard from the series „Berlin erleben“. Edited by Foto-Irifi.de



Fig. 73. Postcard „Kapitalismus, Kastanienallee 2009“. Mauerpix. Photo: Ricardo Nuno.



Fig. 74. An actual view of the Café Morgenrot in Kastanienallee. From the website <http://morgenrot.blogspot.eu/bilder/>



Fig. 75. Postcard: „Berlin-Tucholskystrasse“. Edited by *Berlin bleibt bunt*. Photo: Gerd Schnürer



Fig. 76. Postcard: „Berlin, Scheunenviertel“. Skowronski & Koch Verlag. Photo: Pierre Adenis (GAFF).



Fig. 77. Contemporary view of the house at Tucholskystrasse 30.



Fig. 78. Contemporary view of the house at Tucholskystrasse 32.



Fig. 79. Postcard: „Berlin-Friedrichshain“. Edited by *Berlin bleibt bunt*. Photo: Gerd Schnürer.



Fig. 80. Current view of the house at Kreuziger Strasse 18.



Fig. 81. Postcard: „Berlin, Adalbertstrasse“. Skowronski & Koch Verlag. Photo: Pierre Adenis (GAFF).

Fig. 82. Contemporary view of the house at *Adalbertstr. 32* (Image removed for copyright reasons)



Fig. 83. Postcard: „VEB Auguststrasse. Berlin... einfach anders“ (Berlin, just different). Edition Lawine.



Fig. 84. Contemporary view of the house at *Auguststrasse 92*.



Fig. 85. Postcard: „Intimes. Berlin-Friedrichshain 2009“. Published by Mauerpix. Photo: Ricardo Nuno.



Fig. 86. Postcard: “Berlin Kreuzberg”. Edited by *Berlin bleibt bunt*. Photo: Gerd Schnürer.



Fig. 87. Graffiti of Blu in Cuvrystrasse and Schlesische Str., Berlin-Kreuzberg.



Fig. 88. Postcard: „Berlin Mitte“. Photo: Gerd Schnürer.



Fig. 89. Postcard: „Berlin. Last Minute“. Photo: Gerd Schnürer.



Fig. 90. Advertising from the Facebook page of “Revolutionary Berlin Tours”.



Fig. 91. Picture from the website of "Alternative Berlin Tours".



Fig. 92. Postcard: „Berlin. Prenzlauer Berg“. Photo: Gerd Schnürer.



Fig. 93. Untitled postcard. From the series "Berlin Erleben". Edited by Foto-Irifi.de



Fig. 94. Still frame from *Good Bye Lenin!* (Wolfgang Becker, 2003).



Fig. 95. Postcard: "Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR. Palast der Republik (1982)". KOMET Verlag GmbH. Photo: Corazza.



Fig. 96. Postcard: „...und der Zukunft zugewandt... Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels hinter dem Palast der Republik. Berlin 1990“. Edited by Panorama-Berlin. Photo: Günter Schneider



Fig. 97. Postcard: "Blick über die Mauer am Brandenburger Tor mit der Straße Unter den Linden, 1981". Published by Image Network Company. Photo: Lehnartz-Fotografie.



Fig. 98. Postcard: "Waldemarstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg, 1985". Published by Panorama Berlin. Photo: Heinz J. Kuzdas.



Fig. 99. Postcard: „Overcoming the Wall by painting on the Wall. 3th prize in competition organized by our Museum 1983/1984". Published by *Museum Haus am Checkpoint Charlie*.



Fig. 100. Postcard: "Berlin, East-Side Gallery". Skowronski & Koch Verlag. Photo: Johann Scheibner.

Chapter 3



Fig. 101. Cover of the brochure *Wir bleiben Alle*.



Fig. 102. Original picture in the front cover of the brochure *Wir bleiben Alle* (left). Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo, *Il Quarto Stato* (*The Fourth Estate*), 1901. Museo del Novecento, Milan (right).



Fig. 103. Photograph on page 7 of the brochure *Wir bleiben Alle*, the so-called *Frappant Gebäude* in Hamburg, covered by a banner with the text: "A city is not a business enterprise".



Fig. 104. Banner placed on the tower of the *Zionskirche* in November 1987 to protest for the detention of political activists of the *Umweltbibliothek*. The banner states: "We protest against the arrests and confiscation of goods in the *Umweltbibliothek*". Photos: BstU.



Fig. 105. Photographs of hanging banners in different buildings on risk of eviction published in the brochure *Wir bleiben alle*. The texts states: "Against rising rent increases and displacement! We stay! (Top right); "Here: High rent because high profits" (top left); "Stop rising rents! No to the eviction of Liebig 14!" (Bottom).



Fig. 106. Photographs on pages 36-37 of the brochure *Wir bleiben Alle* depicting banners and posters on windows of evicted apartments and retails. The texts state: "We are kicked out so that the rich can move in. I am looking for a flat in 36, two persons, HARZ" (top); "Painting shop displaced, free-shop evicted, self-governed kindergarten endangered for Christian Ernst Hollmann (Landlord)" (bottom).



Fig. 107. Image on page 21 of the brochure *WBA*. The text on the poster states: "The Fabulous World of Resistance".



Fig. 108. Photograph of a wall on the corner of *Manteuffelstr.* and *Oranienstr.* in Berlin *Kreuzberg* (Photo: Ute Kurzbein/Umbruch-Bildarchiv, May-June 2007).



Fig. 109. Frank Cieciorka, "Hand", Woodcut, 1965.



Fig. 110. Photograph on page 11 of the brochure WBA.



Fig. 111. Pages 16 and 17 of the brochure WBA.



Fig. 112. Photographs on pages 16 and 17 of the brochure WBA. The text states: "Build expensive housing, so that poor people can find a tenement" (top left).



Fig. 113. Cover of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!*



Fig. 114. Image on page 2 of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!* At the bottom of the image reads: *Grabsteine* (Gravestones). On one of the buildings on the left side reads: *In Gedenken* (in memoriam).

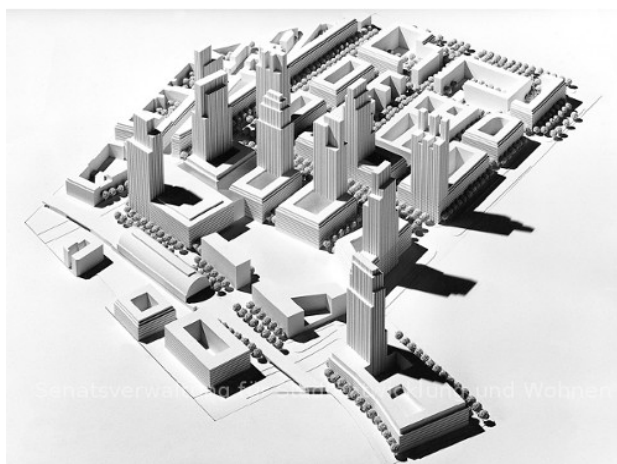


Fig. 115. Model of the project of reconstruction for *Alexanderplatz* designed by Kollhoff & Timmermann (1993). Photo: *Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen*.

BÜRGERinnenBEGEHREN

Spreeufer für alle !

Stimmen Sie für das Ersuchen an das Bezirksamt,

- im Rahmen der Bebauungsplanung zu regeln, dass
 - Neubauten nicht näher als 50 Meter an die Spreeufer im Bezirk Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg heranreichen (von Michael- bis Eisenbrücke einschließlich Lohmühleninsel) und
 - keine neuen Hochhäuser zwischen Stadtbahn und Köpenicker/Schlesische Straße gebaut werden können
- darauf hinzuwirken, dass
 - im Bezirk statt einer Straßenbrücke nur ein Rad/Fußgängersteg über die Spree gebaut wird

Unterschriftenliste Nr. _____

Initiativkreis Mediaspree Versenken! AG Spreeufer
 Bethanien - Südfeld
 Mariannenplatz 2 - 10997 Berlin
 www.ms-versenken.org
 agspree@gmx.de

Vertrauenspersonen:
 Carsten Jost
 Dr. Werner Rehl
 Andreas Barnickel

Gesetz § 41 Abs. 1 und 3 Bezugsverordnungen: Berlin wird im Bezirk Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg ein Bürgerbegehren durchgeführt. Sollte eine der Forderungen rechtlich unzulässig sein, findet die Entscheidung für die dann verbleibenden Forderungen keinen Einfluss.

Um unterschreiben zu können, müssen Sie wahlberechtigt sein für die Wahl zur Bezirksverordnetenversammlung des Bezirks Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg.
 Bitte deutlich schreiben – nur lesbare Eintragungen werden gezählt! Begründung/Kostenschätzung auf der Rückseite!

Nr.	Name, Vorname	Geburtsdatum	Straße und Hausnummer	PLZ	Datum	Unterschrift	Datierung
1							

Fig. 116. Graph on page 4 of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!* The image compares the concept of Mediaspree e.V. with the proposal of Mediaspree Versenken!

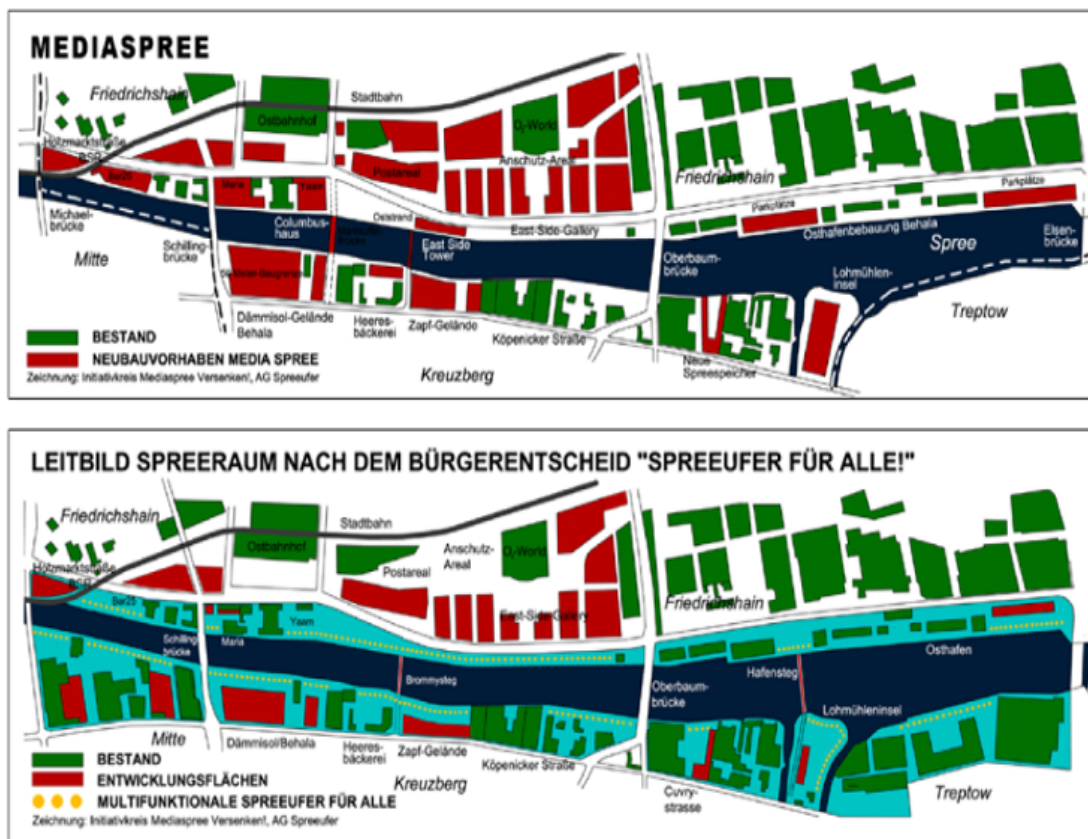


Fig. 117. Graph on page 5 of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!* On the top we see the proposal of *Mediaspree*, and on the bottom the proposal of the Citizen's decision *Spreeufer für Alle!* Green blocks represent the existing buildings, while the red ones are the buildings and plots to be constructed or developed. The yellow dots are multifunctional areas.

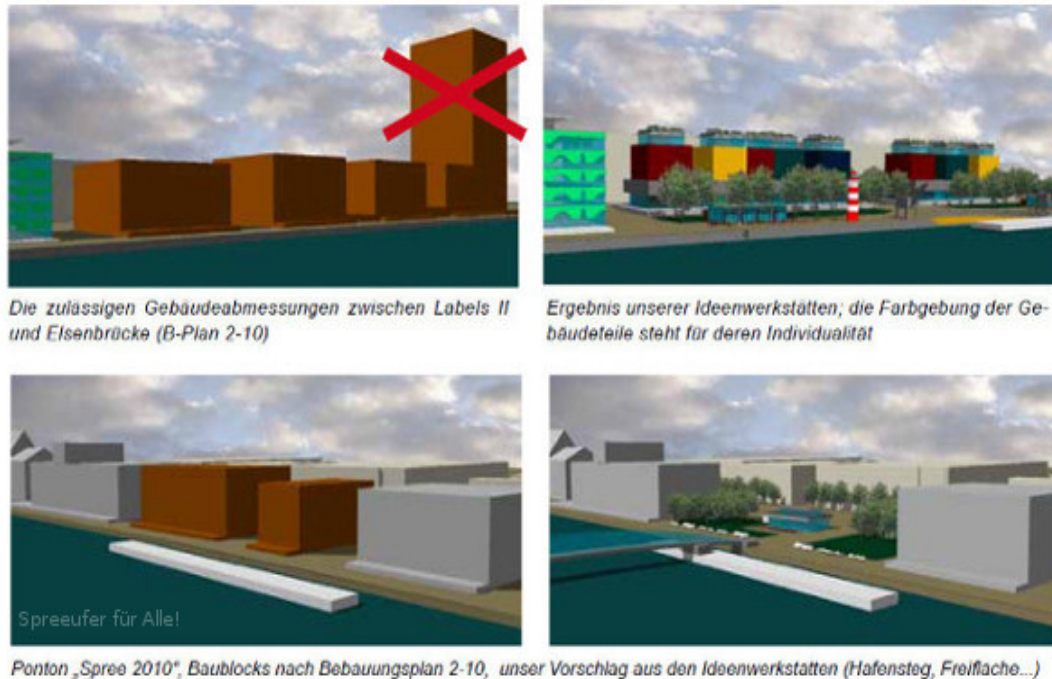


Fig. 118. Graphs on page 7 of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!*

The images on the left side show the proposal of the *Mediaspree* project, while those on the right side correspond to the alternative proposal of *Mediaspree Versenken!*

Das YAAM ist der Pionier der Freiflächennutzung an der Spree und seit 1994 bereits fünf Mal wegen ehrgeiziger Büroplanungen umgezogen – nie ist dann etwas gebaut worden. Es ist offensichtlich, dass das YAAM an seinem idealen Standort in seiner Funktion als ufernahe Kultur- und Sportbegegnungsstätte nicht mehr wegzudenken ist. Stadträumlich wäre das Grundstück die sinnvolle Fortsetzung des Spree-parks von der Oberbaumbrücke bis zum Energieforum. Auf diesem Grundstück ging es uns deshalb nicht um die Reduzierung der geplanten Gebäudeabmessungen, sondern um generellen Bestandsschutz. Deshalb haben wir hier den Lösungsweg des Grundstückstausches vorgeschlagen. Als Tauschgrundstück käme der landeseigene nordwestliche Bereich des B-Plans V-76 (BSR) in Frage. Nach einem erfolgreichen Grundstückstausch zwischen Urnova und BSR wäre das Land Berlin Eigentümer des Grundstückes.

Das BSR-Grundstück hinter dem Bahndamm ist zwar mit rund 6.100 m² kleiner als das Grundstück der Urnova (knapp 8.900 m²), doch der B-Plan V-76 erlaubt für diesen Teilbereich eine größere bauliche Ausnutzung (36.000 m² gegenüber 31.000 m² auf dem YAAM-Grundstück).



Quelle: Mediaspree e.V.

Mit diesem Tausch könnte die Firma Urnova, neben zusätzlichen Flächen, auf politisch entspanntem Terrain bauen – die Spreeufer blieben von Maximalverwertung verschont. Das Land Berlin hätte ein für die öffentliche Nutzung kostbares Spreeufergrundstück gewonnen und dabei einen Flächengewinn erzielt. Auf unseren Antrag hin wurde das Bezirksamt aktiv und bekam vom Senat die erwartete Antwort, dass dieser keinem „defizitären Grundstückstausch“ zustimme. Die Vertragsverlängerung für das YAAM machte der Grundstückseigentümer Urnova von der Verlängerung der auslaufenden Baugenehmigung abhängig. In den folgenden Verhandlungen konnte ein Kompromiss erreicht werden: Das YAAM darf bis zu einem Baubeginn bestehen bleiben und

der Uferabstand des geplanten Gebäudes wurde um fünf auf ca. 15 Meter heraufgesetzt. Dennoch: Der Widerspruch zwischen maximalen Verwertungsinteressen eines internationalen Investors und lokalen Bürger- und Zwischennutzerinteressen wird so ins Unbestimmte hinausgezögert.

Der Zustand der abgewirtschafteten Immobilienbranche und der anhaltende politische Druck zur Rettung der Spreeufer macht einen absehbaren Baubeginn unwahrscheinlich. Gerüchte vermitteln den Eindruck, dass die Firma Urnova das Grundstück weiterverkaufen will.

Der Senat plant für das Areal „Stralauer Platz“ eine Aktualisierung des Leitbildes Spreeaum. Ob das YAAM dabei eine Rolle spielen wird, ist fraglich.



Fig. 119. Fragment of page 10 of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!*

The image on the top and those on the bottom contrast the visions of both parts for the plot on *Stralauer Platz 35*.

Fig. 120. Image removed

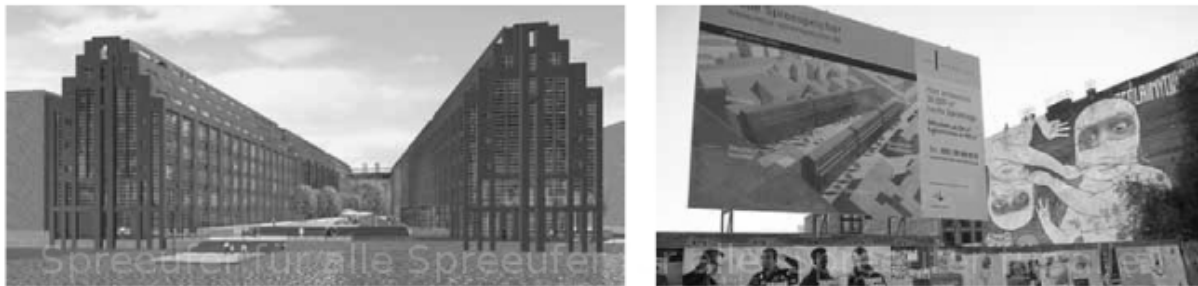


Fig. 121. Graph on page 12 of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!*
On the left side we see an architectonic animation of the building to be built on the corner of *Cuvrystrasse* and *Schlesischestrasse*, while on the right side we see the plot in its actual situation, with the graffiti of *Blu* on one of the adjacent buildings.



Fig. 122. Image on page 4 of the brochure *Spreeufer für Alle!* The photograph shows a vacant lot used as improvised barbecuing area. On foreground we see some graffiti.



Fig. 123. Cover of the brochure published by the Mauerpark foundation *Welt-Bürger Park*.

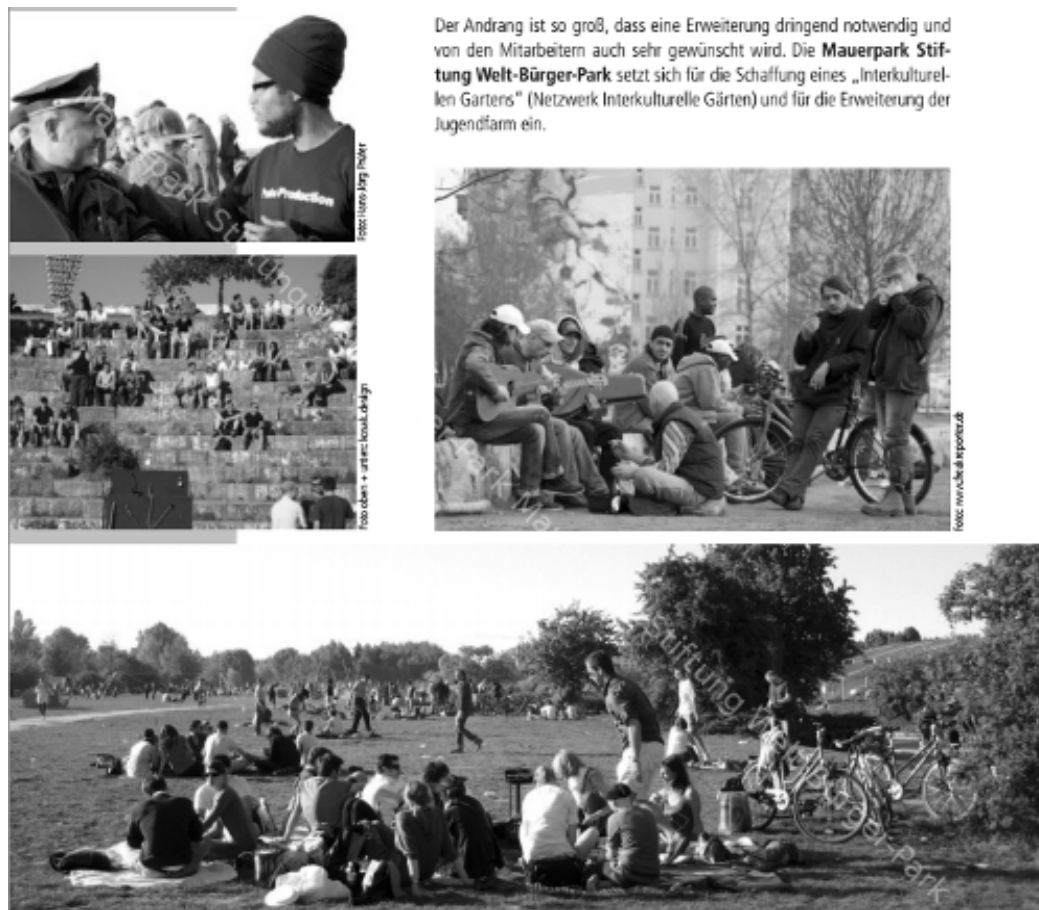


Fig. 124. Images on section 7 of the brochure *Der Mauerpark in Berlin*.



Fig. 125. Images on section 5 of the brochure *Der Mauerpark in Berlin*.



Fig. 126. Logo of the *Mauerpark* foundation *Welt-Bürger Park*.



Fig. 127. Photograph on section 1 of the brochure *Der Mauerpark in Berlin*. Photo: Archiv Grüne Liga.



Fig. 128. Images on section 2 of the brochure *Der Mauerpark in Berlin*. On the top, the *Prinzessinengarten* in Berlin-Kreuzberg; on the bottom, the *Moritzhof* (left) and the *Birkenwäldchen* (right). Photos: Archiv Grüne Liga (top) and Hans-Jörg Prüfer (bottom).

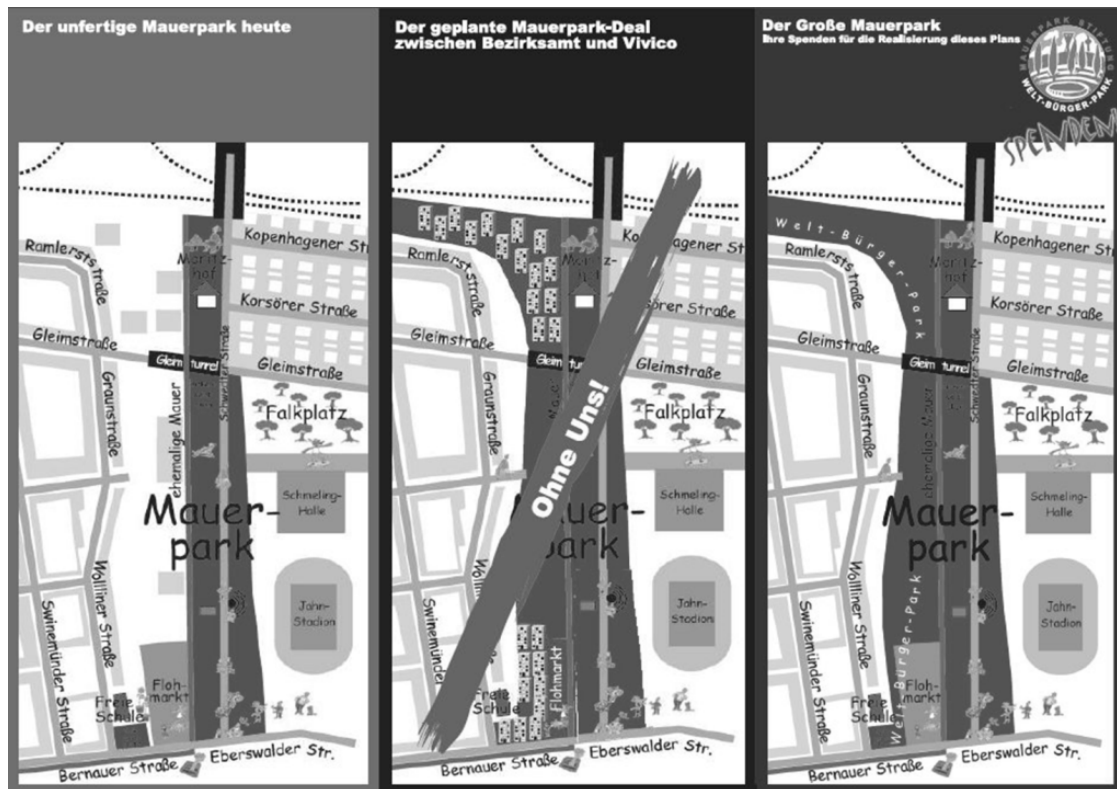


Fig. 129. Image on page 3 of the brochure *Der Mauerpark in Berlin*. On the left we see the park as it is currently, on the center the plan of the borough administration and Vivico to build new apartment buildings (in gray). On the right, the project of an expanded park supported by the foundation with a call for donations.



Fig. 130. Images on section 3 of the brochure *Der Mauerpark in Berlin*. On the upper left, a group of kids hold signboards to express their support for the construction of the *Mauerpark*. On bottom left, remaining slabs of the Berlin wall after being dismantled. On the right side, an information stand to support the construction of *Mauerpark*. The poster on foreground reads: "For a park-landscape in Berlin".



Fig. 131. Images on section 4 of the brochure *Der Mauerpark in Berlin*.



Fig. 132. Poster produced by the Citizen's Initiative *100% Tempelhofer Feld* against the International Garden Exhibition 2017 (IGA). The header states: "None Berliner needs this IGA".



Fig. 133. Banner on the website of the Initiative *100% Tempelhofer Feld*.

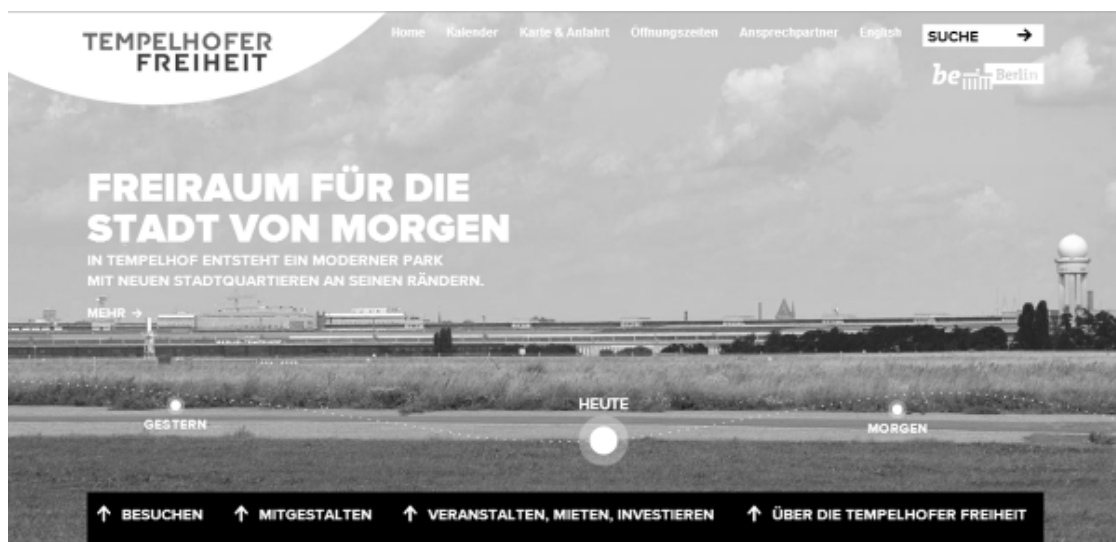


Fig. 134. Banner on the official website of the park *Tempelhofer Freiheit*.



Fig. 135. Photograph on a poster of the initiative *100% Tempelhofer Feld* against IGA 2017.

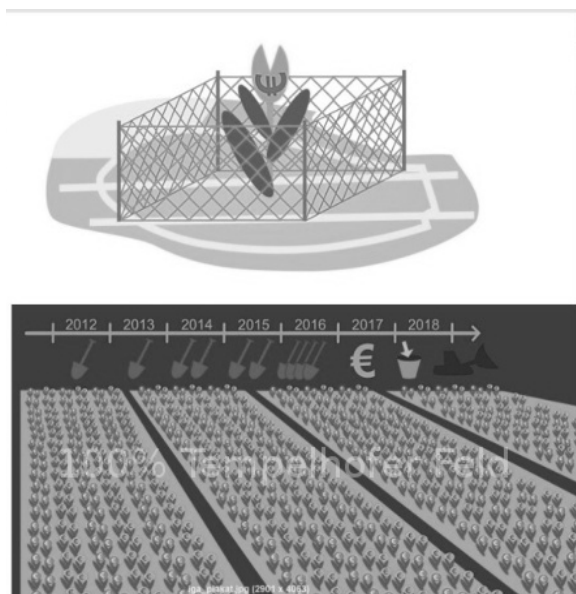


Fig. 136. Graph on a poster of the initiative *100% Tempelhofer Feld* against IGA 2017.



Fig. 137. Flyer produced by the initiative *Tempelhof für Alle*. The banner over the fencing states: "Tempelhof: The fence must be removed so that our ideas learn to fly".



Fig. 138. Flyer produced by the initiative *Tempelhof für Alle* announcing a demonstration on June 20, 2009.

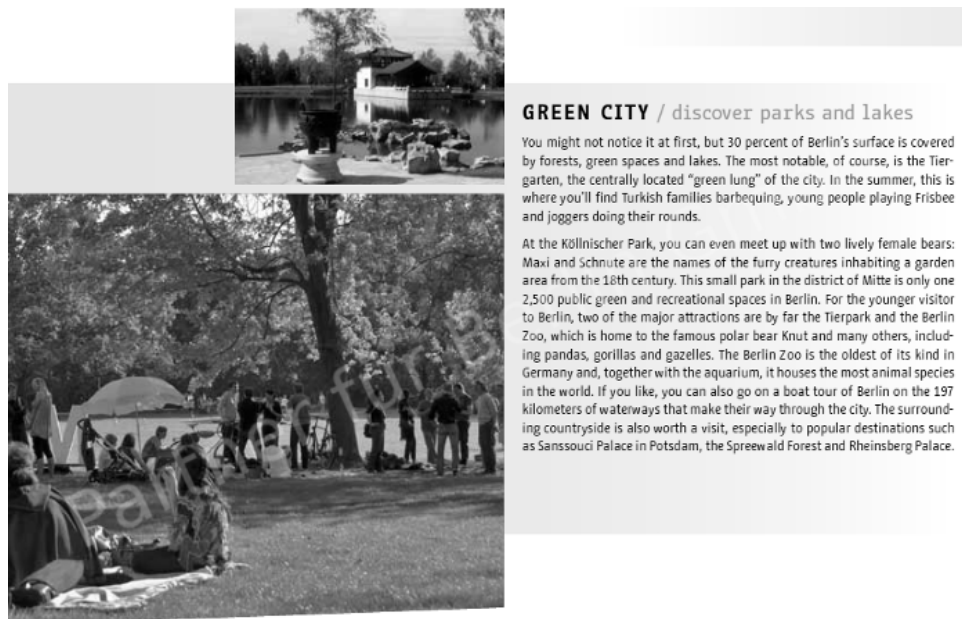


Fig. 139. Two images on page 24 of the brochure *Be Berlin*. The title of the section is "Green City. Discover Parks and Lakes".

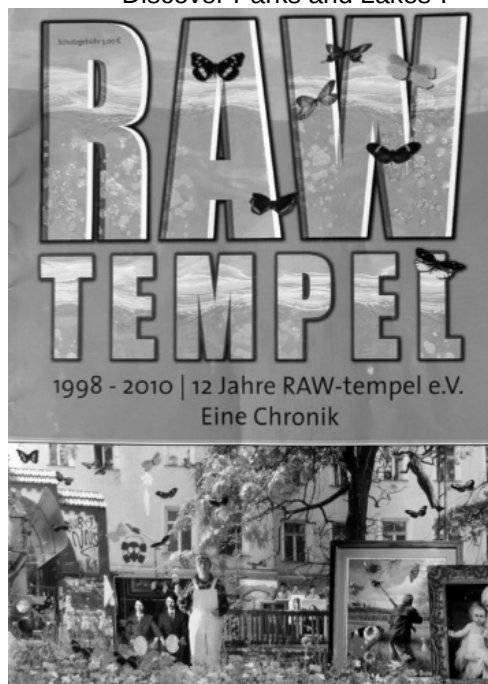


Fig. 140. Cover of the brochure of *RAW Tempel*, 2010.



Fig. 141. Main picture on the cover and back cover of the brochure of *RAW Tempel*.



Fig. 142. Header banner of the website of *RAW Tempel*, presenting the same design as the cover of the brochure.



Fig. 143. Map of the area of the *RAW Tempel* in page 40 of their brochure, including the buildings of the *RAW Tempel e.V.* and other temporary commercial uses.



Fig. 144. Main image of the flyer '*RAW Kulturensemble. Erhalten, entwickeln, etablieren*'. Campaign 2013 of *RAW Tempel e.V.* to gain support for the conservation of the area as a cultural venue.





Fig. 146. Diverse images from the brochure published by *RAW Tempel e.V.*



Fig. 147. Image of people working in the construction of *RAW Tempel*. Brochure *RAW Tempel* 2010.



Fig. 148. Franz Schulz, District Mayor of *Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg* (center), and Hans-Christian Ströbele, deputy of the Green Party (on the Bike) in an event in *RAW Tempel*. Brochure *RAW Tempel* 2010.



Fig. 149. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds working together in the garden.



Fig. 150. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds working together in the garden.



Fig. 151. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing the combination of nature and city.



Fig. 152. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing people in contact with nature.



Fig. 153. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing people in contact with nature.



Fig. 154. An image from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* in comparison with a detail of "The Gleaners" by Jean-François Millet (1857, oil on canvas, *Musée d'Orsay*) and "Farmers Planting Potatoes" by Vincent Van Gogh (Detail, 1884, oil on canvas, *Kröller-Müller Museum*).



Fig. 155. Robert Shaw and Marco Clausen, founders of the *Prinzessinnengarten*, as portrayed on the cover of the book “Anders gärtnern in der Stadt”.



Fig. 156. Left: A picture of the late 19th century showing English farmers with a threshing machine (Detail) Right: “Digger in a Potato Field” by Vincent Van Gogh (1885, chalk on paper, Van Gogh Museum).



Fig. 157. August Sander: “Blacksmiths” (Left, 1926, gelatin silver print) and “Blacklayer” (right, 1928, gelatin silver print). *Die photographische Sammlung/SK Stiftung Kultur, August Sander Archiv.*



Fig. 158. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinnengarten* showing people performing physical work.



Fig. 159. A picture from the website of *Prinzessinnengarten* showing people eating together.



Fig. 160. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinnengarten* showing graffiti.



Fig. 161. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing improvised architecture and reuse of waste materials.



Fig. 162. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing the transformation of the neglected plot in a functional common space.



Fig. 163. Pictures from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* showing the transformation of the neglected plot in a functional common space.



Fig. 164. Picture taken from the website of *Prinzessinengarten* of a demonstration for biological diversity on September 15, 2010.



Fig. 165. Marco Clausen interviewed at the top a building.



Fig. 166. Photograph of a public discussion organized in 2011 in *Prinzessinengarten*. From left to right: Leonie Baumann (Rector of the *Kunsthochschule Weissensee*), Franz Schulz, Jörg Stöllmann (Professor of Urban Development at the TU-Berlin), Andreas Krüger (Modulor Project), Marco Clausen and Robert Shaw.



Fig. 167. View of the second page of posts in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen*.



Fig. 168. Images posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* highlighting the anachronistic character of the project.



Fig. 169. Images posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* highlighting the artificial character of the project.

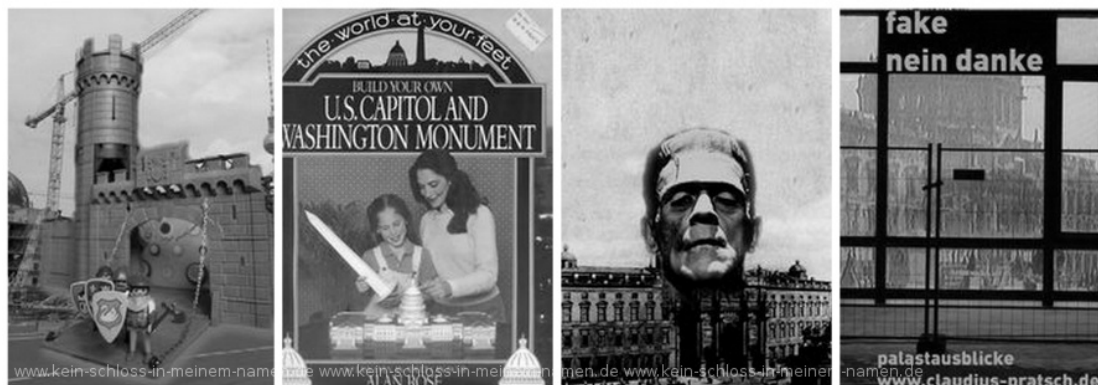


Fig. 170. Images posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* highlighting the artificial character of the project.



Fig. 171. Images posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* highlighting the commercial character of the project.



Fig. 172. Images posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen*, linking the project to the premises of the so called 'critical reconstruction'.



Fig. 173. Poster by Klaus Staeck for the federal elections 1972. The text reads: "German Workers! The SPD wants to take your villas in Tessin away from you".



Fig. 174. Images posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* satirizing the possibility that the *Palast der Republik* may be reconstructed in the future.



Fig. 175. Images posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen* showing the ruins of the Palace



Fig. 176. Images of temporary uses of the *Palast der Republik* posted by supporters in the website *kein-schloss-in-meinem-namen*.



Fig. 177. Posters against the BBI Airport in Berlin-Schönefeld. Photos: www.fluglaermber.de (BI Stahnsdorf gegen Fluglärm).



Fig. 178. Posters against the BBI Airport highlighting the negative effects of air traffic on nature. Images: *Schöneicher Forum gegen Fluglärm* (Left), *Aktion Bündnis Berlin-Brandenburg* (Center), and *Friedrichshagener Bürgerinitiative* (Right).



Fig. 179. Graphs against the BBI Airport highlighting the negative effects of air traffic on residential areas. Images: *BI Unser-Großbeeren e.V.*, *BI Stahnsdorf gegen Fluglärm*, *BI Lichtenrade/Mahlow-Nord gegen Fluglärm e.V.*, *Volksinitiative Keine 3. Startbahn am BER*.

Fig. 180. Posters against the BBI Airport satirizing the Mayor of Berlin Klaus Wowereit. Image removed for copyright reasons.



Fig. 181. Left: One of the images of the campaign to promote the opening of the Berlin-Brandenburg Airport “Willy Brandt” in 2012. Image: Scholz & Friends. Center: Graph against the BBI Airport satirizing the advertising campaign for the opening of the airport of 2012. Image: @BERlinVerstehen (Twitted on 6.09.2012). Right: Satirical postcard of the Berlin Airport disaster, using an image of Walter Ulbricht. Image: © dpa
www.berlin.de

Chapter 4

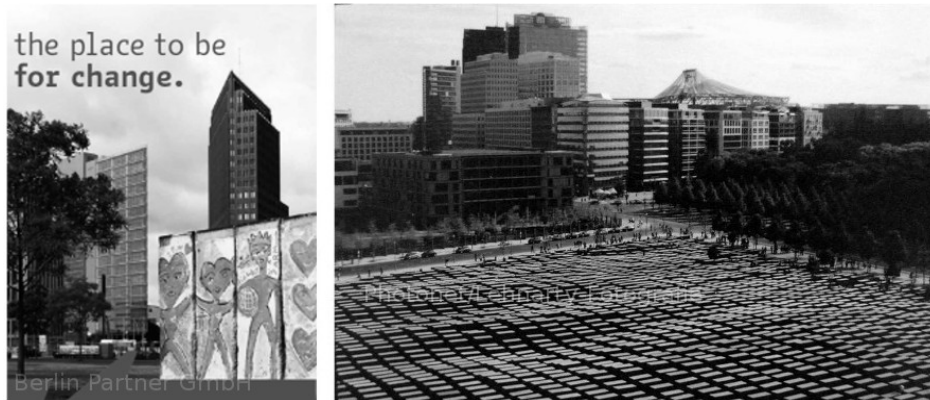


Fig. 182. Constellation 1: Berlin as Palimpsest.



Fig. 183. Constellation 1: Berlin as Palimpsest.



Fig. 184. Constellation 1: Berlin as Palimpsest.

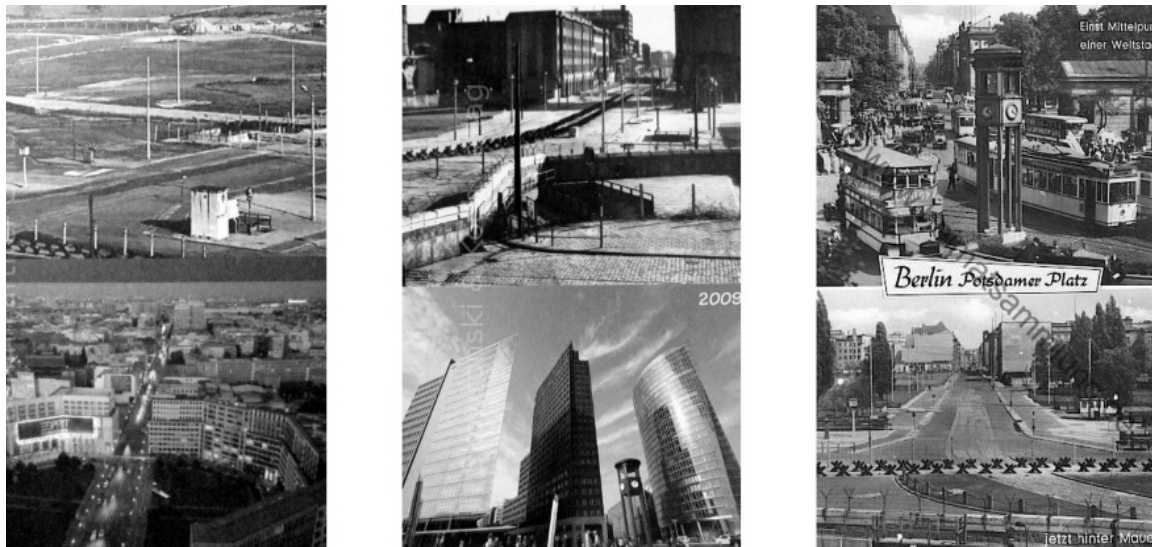


Fig. 185. Constellation 2: Berlin Then & Now.

Fig. 186. Constellation 2: Berlin Then & Now (See figures 67 and 68)



Fig. 187. Constellation 2: Berlin Then & Now.

Fig. 188. Constellation 2: Berlin Then & Now. (See figure 162)



Fig. 189. Constellation 2: Berlin Then & Now.



Fig. 190. Constellation 2: Berlin Then & Now.



Fig. 191. Constellation 2: Berlin Then & Now. "Berlin im Wandel der Zeit" by Berlin bleibt bunt



Fig. 192. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 193. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 194. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 195. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 196. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 197. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 198. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 199. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.



Fig. 200. Constellation 3: The City as Commodity.

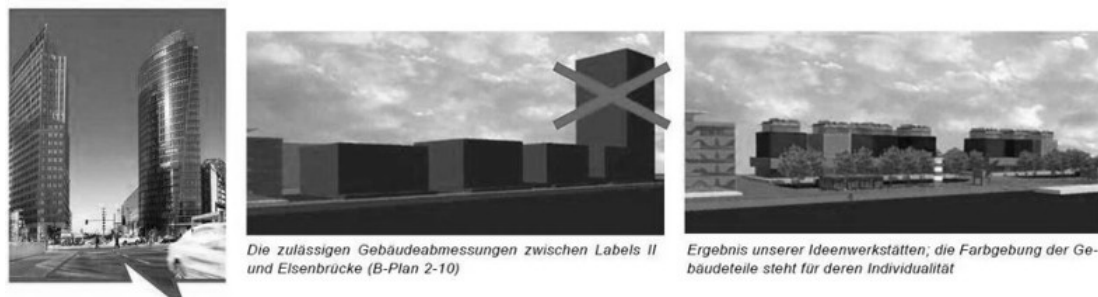


Fig. 201. Constellation 4. Public Participation.

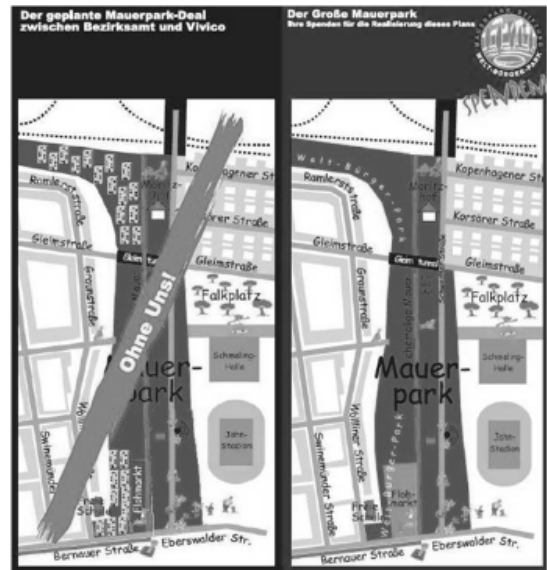


Fig. 202. Constellation 4. Public Participation.

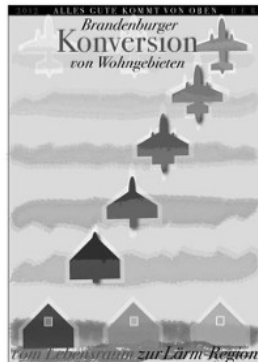


Fig. 203. Constellation 4. Public Participation.



Fig. 204. Constellation 4. Public Participation.



Fig. 205. Constellation 4. Public Participation.



Fig. 206. Constellation 4. Public Participation.



Fig. 207. Constellation 4. Public Participation.



Fig. 208. Constellation 5: The 'Edgy' City.



Fig. 209. Constellation 5: The 'Edgy' City.



Fig. 210. Constellation 5: The 'Edgy' City.



Fig. 211. Constellation 5: The 'Edgy' City.



Fig. 212. Constellation 6: The Multicultural City.

PHOTO CREDITS

Chapter 1

- Fig. 1. Berlin Partner für Wirtschaft und Technologie GmbH/Erik Sylvester (Kampagne/2008/Botschafterempfang im Berliner Rathaus) <http://www.sei.berlin.de/kampagne/2-botschafterempfang-im-roten-rathaus>
- Fig. 2. Logo of the *Be Berlin* campaign. By Be Berlin [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABe_Berlin_Logo.svg
- Fig. 3. "BVG Berlin bus B-V 1383, Linie 188". By Felix O [CC BY-SA 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ABVG_Berlin_bus_B-V_1383%2C_Linie_188%2C_S-Bf_Botanischer_Garten._-Flickr_-sludgegulper.jpg
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- Fig. 6. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2009), pp. 2-3. Berlin Partner GmbH
- Fig. 7. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008 and 2009). Berlin Partner GmbH
- Fig. 8. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2009), p. 2. Berlin Partner GmbH
- Fig. 9. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008), p. 2 and (2011), p. 9. Berlin Partner GmbH
- Fig. 10. Photo: María Isabel Rojas
- Fig. 11. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008), p. 3. Berlin Partner GmbH.
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- Fig. 16. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008), p. 6. Berlin Partner GmbH.
- Fig. 17. Left and right: Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008), p. 6. Berlin Partner GmbH; Center: Postcard of the Hauptbahnhof in Frankfurt am Main, Germany (c. 1912), by unknown artist. Originally published by Gerhard Bluemlein & Co. [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFrankfurt_a._M.%2C_Hauptbahnhof.jpg
- Fig. 18. From the website: <https://www.berlin.de>
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- Fig. 23. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008), pp. 10-11. Berlin Partner GmbH
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- Fig. 31. Advertising campaign *Das ist Berlin* for *Berliner Morgenpost*, by Römer Wildberger Werbeagentur GmbH <http://www.roemerwildberger.com/berliner-morgenpost-die-klassiker/> photo: Michael Heinsen http://michaelheinsen.de/portfolio/commission_berliner_mopo/ Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008), p. 24. Berlin Partner GmbH
- Fig. 32. By flickr.com user *antjeverena*, May 16, 2011. CC BY-SA 2.0 <https://flic.kr/p/9Ldtb3>
- Fig. 33. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2008), p. 3 and (2009), pp. 4, 8, 18, 20. Berlin Partner GmbH
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- Fig. 36. Brochure: "The Place to Be" (2009), p. 10, 12, 14. Berlin Partner GmbH
- Fig. 37. Left: Dominic Frohlof, "Adbusting: Sei du selbst, sei Tempelhof". In Blog Stadtkind <http://stadtkind.com/kategorie/sei-berlin/> Center: Lars van Core, "Bleib bunt! bleib tacheles, bleib Berlin" http://www.mygall.net/product_info.php?info=p369270_bleib-bunt--bleib-tacheles--bleib-berlin-.html Right: Harald Böttger, "Sei Regen, sei Sturm, sei Berlin". In Berlin Blog <http://wishbringer.twoday.net/stories/4783515/#comments>

Fig. 38. Top left: By flickr.com user *Carl Hiatt* CC BY-SA 2.0 <https://flic.kr/p/6K9a9j>; Top right: Initiative gegen Abschiebehaft/ Flüchtlingsrat Berlin; Bottom left: <http://karlapappel.wordpress.com/archiv/downloads/> Bottom right: 'Galerie-Be Berlin Werbung', by Manfred http://galerie.chip.de/k/digiart-collagen/composing/be_berlin_werbung/361165/

Fig. 39. Left: Bernd Kudanek, "Bleibt der 142fache Mord in Kundus/Afghanistan ungesühnt?", Blog Carookee. <http://www.carookee.net/forum/freies-politikforum/2/27914984;0;30115?p=2> ; Center: "Be.streik.berlin-bemayday", Website Indymedia Germany. <http://de.indymedia.org/2008/04/212876.html> ; Right: Blog Pantoffelpunk <http://blog.pantoffelpunk.de/zermatschtes/be-doof-be-berlin>

Chapter 2

Fig. 40. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten. Photos: Günther Schneider.

Fig. 41. Top left: Pawlowski/G. Schneider. Top right: Skowronski & Koch Verlag/Jürgen Henkelmann. Bottom left: Publicon Verlagsgesellschaft/Katharina Dorn. Bottom Right: Schöning GmbH/ S. Rehberg.

Fig. 42. Top Left: Photonet/Lehnarty-Fotografie. Top Right: Pawlowski/G. Schneider. Bottom Left: Pawlowski/G. Schneider. Bottom Right: Publicon/Rainer Gaertner.

Fig. 43. Top Left: Pawlowski/G. Schneider. Bottom Left: Romanowski-Smile/Bernd Petrikat. Center: G. Schnürer. Right: Pawlowski/G. Schneider

Fig. 44. Photo: René Menges. Bottom Left: Skowronski & Koch Verlag/G. Schneider. Right: Skowronski & Koch Verlag/Jürgen Henkelmann.

Fig. 45. Left: Photo: J. Henkelmann. Top Right: Photos: Michael Haddenhorst. Bottom Right: Photo: M. Haddenhorst. All postcards edited by Skowronski & Koch Verlag.

Fig. 46. Top Left: Skowronski & Koch Verlag/Michael Haddenhorst. Bottom Left: Photo: Gerd Schnürer. Right: From the series "Berlin erleben". Foto Irifi.

Fig. 47. Verlag Kunst und Bild. Taken from the website of heimatsammlung.de

Fig. 48. Image taken from the website: <http://amazingstuff.co.uk/places/the-world-now-and-then/> Under a Creative Commons Licence (CC BY-NC 2.5) <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.5/>

Fig. 49. See: <http://www.wthenandnowbooks.com/> <http://www.thdunerbaybooks.com/custom/ThenAndNow.aspx>

Fig. 50. Sergey Larenkov, from the series „Berlin-Prague-Vienna 65 Years Later“. <http://sergey-larenkov.livejournal.com/tag/berlin>

Fig. 51. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 52. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 53. Right: From the exhibition "Kinder nach dem Krieg- Photographien der Agentur Puck. Berlin 1945-1948."Agentur Puck/ *Deutsches Historisches Museum*. https://www.dhm.de/archiv/magazine/kindernachdemkrieg/ausstellung/lehrter_gr.htm Left: Bundesarchiv, B 145 Bild-F003101-0008 / Brodde / CC-BY-SA 3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>, via Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 54. Askanischer Platz/Anhalter Bahnhof/Tempodrom, Berlin, by flickr.com user *fonalité*. CC BY-SA 2.0 <https://flic.kr/p/eoBmxm>

Fig. 55. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 56. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 57. Image deleted

Fig. 58. Otto Donath, "Trümmerfrauen vor dem zerstörten Reichstagsgebäude" . *Bildarchiv Deutsches historisches Museum (Inventarnr. F65/2273)*.

Fig. 59. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 60. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ *Landesarchiv Berlin*.

Fig. 61. Pawlowski Souvenirs & Postkarten Berlin. Photos: G. Schneider/ Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 62. Skowronski & Koch Verlag, Berlin. Photos: Peter Stiebing und Wolfgang Skowronski.

Fig. 63. Edition Panorama.

Fig. 64. Peter Zumthor, Model for the project "Topographie des Terrors". Taken from <http://socks-studio.com/2011/11/14/zumthors-topographie-des-terrors-1993-2004-visual-history-of-birth-growth-and-death-of-a-project/>, published under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 license](#)

Fig. 65. Photo: María Isabel Rojas

Fig. 66. Skowronski & Koch Verlag, Berlin. Photos: AKG images and Jürgen Henkelmann.

- Fig. 67. Stefan Koppelkamm, *Ortszeit*. <https://ortszeitlocaltime.de/bilder3>
- Fig. 68. Stefan Koppelkamm, *Ortszeit*. <https://ortszeitlocaltime.de/bilder19>
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